PANYASSIS OF HALIKARNASSOS

TEXT AND COMMENTARY

BY

VICTOR J. MATTHEWS

LUGDUNI BATAVORUM E. J. BRILL MCMLXXIV

PANYASSIS
OF
HALIKARNASSOS

MNEMOSYNE

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To George Huxley

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PREFACE

The epic poet Panyassis occupies an intermediate place between the post-Homeric cyclic epics and the poets of the Hellenistic age. Although he holds an honoured place in the Alexandrian canon of epic poets, only some thirty fragments of his work remain.

This study is an attempt to discover more about the life of the poet and to reconstruct from the fragments an outline of his *Herakleia*. Before the publication of G.L. Huxley's *Greek Epic Poetry from Eumelos to Panyassis* (London 1969), with its chapter on the poet, whom Huxley calls "the last great epic poet of archaic Greece" (177), there had been in English only two recent articles which treated Panyassis in any detail (Huxley *GRBS*, 5. 1 [1964], 29-33, and W. McLeod, *Phoenix* 20 [1966], 95-110). The only comprehensive study of the poet has been that by F. Stoessl (*RE* 18. 3 [1949], 871-922, 1279-80), but even he does not examine all the fragments in detail.

The fragments of Panyassis have been collected by G. Kinkel (*Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, 1 [Leipzig 1877], 253-65), but his edition is now out of date, as several new fragments have since been found. Moreover, he does not present all the testimonies for the poet and the fragments and there is no commentary. However, since all subsequent references to the fragments of Panyassis have been to Kinkel's edition, I have decided, for the sake of convenience, to retain his numbering, extending the series for the new fragments. Thus, the first twenty-six fragments are cited in the form F 1 K, while subsequent fragments are in the form F 27. I do suggest a possible new order in Chapter II, section 1 a, but since the position of several fragments is highly speculative, it would be presumptuous to impose my suggested order on the reader by renumbering the fragments.

This book has grown out of a doctoral thesis presented at the Queen's University of Belfast in 1968. I have especially to thank Professor G. L. Huxley, who suggested the subject to me and was my supervisor for the original thesis. I am greatly indebted to his generous help and encouragement at all stages of the study. I am also deeply grateful to Dr. J. P. Barron of the University of London, who, as my thesis examiner, made many suggestions for the improvement of the study.

I also thank Dr W. McLeod of the University of Toronto for helpful discussion and for kindly making available to me material which I had not previously obtained. I am grateful to Mr E.D. Phillips of the Queen's University of Belfast, to Professor H. L. Tracy of the University of Guelph and to Dr James Grainger for discussing certain points with me.

For generous financial support I wish to thank the Canada Council and the Queen's University of Belfast. My thanks are particularly owing to the editors of *Mnemosyne* for accepting the study for publication in their series of Supplements, to their reader for a number of helpful suggestions and to Mr T. A. Edridge and his staff at Brill's.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to my wife for patiently typing the manuscript, and to my colleague, Dr John M. Bell, for his kindness and vigilance in reading the proofs.

University of Guelph V.J.M.
January 1974

WORKS CITED BY AUTHOR'S NAME ONLY

T. W. Allen	*Homeri Opera* V: Hymnos Cyclum Fragmenta Margiten Batrachomyomachiam Vitas continens (Oxford 1946).
E. Diehl	*Anthologia Lyrica Graeca* (Leipzig 1936, 1949-).
F. Dübner	*Fragmenta Asii, Pisandri, Panyasidis, Choerili et Antimachi,* in *Hesiodus, Apollonius et Alii Poetae,* ed. F. S. Lehrs (Paris 1841).
J. M. Edmonds	*The Fragments of Attic Comedy,* 3 vols. in 4 (Leiden 1957-1961).
P. Friedländer	*Herakles* [*Philologische Unters.* 19] (Berlin 1907).
G. L. Huxley	*Greek Epic Poetry from Eumelos to Panyassis* (London 1969).
G. Kinkel	*Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* 1 [all published] (Leipzig 1877).
J. Koranda	"Beitrag zu den Untersuchungen über Panyasis", *Programm des k. k. deutschen staats-Gymnasiums in Kremsier* (1890/91), 3-23.
R. Krausse	*De Panyasside* (Diss. Göttingen; Hanover 1891).
W. McLeod	"Studies on Panyassis—An Heroic Poet of the Fifth Century", *Phoenix* 20 (1966), 95-110.
A. Meineke	*Analecta Alexandrina* (Berlin 1843, repr. Hildesheim 1964).
C. O. Müller	*The Dorians* (Eng. trans. Oxford 1830) 2 vols. (especially 1, Appendix 5, 532-5).
A. Nauck	*Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*[2] (Leipzig 1889, repr. with suppl. ad. B. Snell, Hildesheim 1964).
D. L. Page	*Poetae Melici Graeci* (Oxford 1962).
J. U. Powell	*Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford 1925).
P. B. Schmid	*Studien zu griechischen Ktisissagen* (Diss. Freiburg i. d. Schweiz 1947).
B. Snell	*Pindarus: Pars altera: Fragmenta*[3] (Leipzig 1964).
F. Stoessl	*RE* 18. 3 (1949), 871-923, 1279-80, s. v. Panyassis.
J. P. Tzschirner	*Panyasidis Halicarnassei Heracleadis Fragmenta* (Bratislava 1842).
C. Wendel	*Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera* (Berlin 1935).

ABBREVIATIONS

ABSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* (University of London)
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. A. Boeckh (Berlin 1828-77)
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*
CR	*Classical Review*
F	Fragment
FGrHist	*Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, ed. F. Jacoby (Berlin and Leiden 1923-1958)
FHG	*Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. and T. Müller and V. Langlois 1-5 (1848-1870)
GRBS	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
L-P	*Poetarum Lesbiorum Fragmenta*, ed. E. Lobel and D. L. Page (Oxford 1955)
LSJ	*A Greek-English Lexicon*[9], ed. H. G. Liddell and R. Scott, rev. H. S. Jones and R. McKenzie (Oxford 1940), and Supplement (1968)
M-W	*Fragmenta Hesiodea*, ed. R. Merkelbach and M. L. West (Oxford 1967)
OCD[2]	*The Oxford Classical Dictionary*[2], ed. N. G. L. Hammond and H. H. Scullard (Oxford 1970)
P.Cair.	*Cairo Papyri* (Oxford 1903)
P.Hib.	*Hibeh Papyri* (Oxford 1906)
P.Oxy.	*Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London 1898-)
RE	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, ed. G. Wissowa
RM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum* (Leiden 1923-)
SIG	*Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*[3], ed. W. Dittenberger (Leipzig 1915-1924)
T	Testimony

TESTIMONIES FOR PANYASSIS' LIFE AND POETRY

1a *Suda* s.v. Πανύασις (I. 4, 24 ed. A. Adler [Leipzig 1935], no. 248), Πολυάρχου, Ἁλικαρνασσεύς, [τερατοσκόπος καὶ] ποιητὴς ἐπῶν· ὃς σβεσθεῖσαν τὴν ποιητικὴν ἐπανήγαγε. Δοῦρις δὲ (*FGrHist* 76 F 64) Διοκλέους τε παῖδα ἀνέγραψε καὶ Σάμιον, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ † Ἡρόδοτος Θούριον. ἱστόρηται δὲ Πανύασις Ἡροδότου τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ ἐξάδελφος· γέγονε γὰρ Πανύασις Πολυάρχου, ὁ δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Λύξου τοῦ Πολυάρχου ἀδελφοῦ. τινὲς δὲ οὐ Λύξην, ἀλλὰ Ῥοιὼ τὴν μητέρα Ἡροδότου, Πανυάσιδος ἀδελφήν, ἱστόρησαν. ὁ δὲ Πανύασις γέγονε κατὰ τὴν οη′ ὀλυμπιάδα (468/5), κατὰ δέ τινας πολλῷ πρεσβύτερος· καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν Περσικῶν. ἀνῃρέθη δὲ ὑπὸ Λυγδάμιδος τοῦ τρίτου τυραννήσαντος Ἁλικαρνασσοῦ. ἐν δὲ ποιηταῖς τάττεται μεθ' Ὅμηρον, κατὰ δέ τινας καὶ μετὰ Ἡσίοδον καὶ Ἀντίμαχον. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλειάδα ἐν βιβλίοις ιδ′, εἰς ἔπη ,θ′, Ἰωνικὰ ἐν πενταμέτρῳ, ἔστι δὲ τὰ περὶ Κόδρον καὶ Νηλέα καὶ τὰς Ἰωνικὰς ἀποικίας, εἰς ἔπη ,ζ′.

[τερατοσκόπος καὶ] is referred to no. 249 (= 1 b below) by Fabricius. † Ἡρόδοτος MSS Ἡρόδοτον Wesseling Ἡρόδοτον τὸν Krausse (18) Πανυάσιδος MSS Πολυάρχου Heyse (*Quaest. Herod.* 15), Krausse (49) Λύξην <ὠνόμασαν> or <ἱστόρησαν> Tzschirner (13)

1b *Suda* s.v. Πανύασις (I. 4, 25 Adler, no. 249), Ἁλικαρνασσεύς, νεώτερος, <τερατοσκόπος καὶ> φιλόσοφος. Περὶ ὀνείρων βιβλία δύο.

1c Artemidoros of Daldis *Oneirokritika* I. 2 (ed. R. A. Pack, [Leipzig 1965], II. 5): ἀρέσκει δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Νικοστράτῳ τῷ Ἐφεσίῳ καὶ Πανυάσιδι τῷ Ἁλικαρνασσεῖ γνωριμωτάτοις ἀνδράσι καὶ ἐλλογίμοις. Cf. I. 64 (Pack 70. 17).

2 *Suda* s.v. Χοιρίλος (I. 4, 834 Adler, no. 595), Σάμιος, τινὲς δὲ Ἰασέα, ἄλλοι δὲ Ἁλικαρνασέα ἱστοροῦσι. γενέσθαι δὲ κατὰ Πανύασιν τοῖς χρόνοις, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Περσικῶν, ὀλυμπιάδα οε′ (480/77), νεανίσκον ἤδη εἶναι·

3 *Suda* s.v. Ἀντίμαχος (I. 1, 237 Adler [Leipzig 1928], no. 2681), Κολοφώνιος, υἱὸς Ὑπάρχου, γραμματικὸς καὶ ποιητής. τινὲς δὲ καὶ οἰκέτην αὐτὸν ἀνέγραψαν Πανυάσιδος τοῦ ποιητοῦ, πάνυ ψευσάμενοι. ἦν γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἀκουστὴς καὶ Στησιμβρότου. γέγονε δὲ πρὸ Πλάτωνος.

4a Eusebios *Chronica* (*Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller*, ed. R. Helm 7. 2 *Eusebius Werke* [Leipzig 1926], 324): 1527 Abr. Arm. (489/88), Πανύασις ποιητὴς ἐγνωρίζετο.

4b Hieronymus *Eusebii Pamphili Chronici Canones Latine vertit* (ed. J. K. Fotheringham [Oxford 1923], 190), Olym. 72 (492/89) Pannyasis [*sic*] poeta habetur inlustris.

MSS OTD assign this reference to Persian Year 32 (489/88), ML to P.Y. 31 (490-89), ABFPNQ to P.Y. 33 (488/7).

5 Avienus *Phaenomena* 2. 175 (ed. A. Holder [Innsbruck 1887, repr. Hildesheim 1965], 10).

Panyasi sed nota tamen, cui longior aetas
Eruit excussis arcana exordia rebus (= F 10 K)

6 Inscription from Halikarnassos (on a memorial to Herodotos and Panyassis found at Rhodes, now in Berlin). (See F. Hiller v. Gaertringen and W. Peek, *Hermes* 76 [1941], 220-3; F. Stoessl, *RE* 18. 3, 921-2).

[τίς τόδε μουνόγληνος ἅπαν δωμήσατο Κύκλωψ]
λ̣ᾰ̣ι̣ν̣ο[ν 'Α]σσυρίη[ς <σ>ῆμ]α Σεμι[ρά]μιος;
ὠ̣λκ̣' ἀ̣ν̣δ̣ρῶν δ' οὐκ ἔσχε Νίνου πόλις, οὐδὲ παρ' Ἰνδοῖς
[αὐ]τ̣ο̣φ̣υ̣ῆ̣ς Μουσῶν πτόρθος ἐνετρέφετο
[οὐδ'] ὧν Ἡροδότου γλύκιον στόμα καὶ Πανύασσιν
ἡρ[οφ]α̣γ̣ῆν Βαβυλὼν ἔτρεφεν ὠγυγίη,
ἀλλ' Ἁλικαρνασσοῦ κραναὸν πέδον· ὧν διὰ μολπὰς
[κλ]ειτὸν ἐν Ἑλλήνων ἄστεσι κῦδος ἔχει.

The first two lines are taken from *Anth. Pal.* 7. 748.

7 Pausanias 10. 8. 9 (ed. F. Spiro [Stuttgart 1903, repr. 1959], 3, 121). Πανύασσις δὲ ὁ Πολυάρχου πεποιηκὼς ἐς Ἡρακλέα ἔπη κ.τ.λ. (= F 15 K).

8 Clement of Alexandria *Stromateis* 6. 2. 25 (ed. O. Stählin [Leipzig 1905-36], 2. 442. 6), . . . Πανύασίς τε ὁ Ἁλικαρνασσεὺς παρὰ Κρεωφύλου τοῦ Σαμίου τὴν Οἰχαλίας ἅλωσιν (= F 27).

9 Athenaios *Deipnosophistai* 2. 36d (ed. G. Kaibel, 3 vols. [Leipzig 1887-1890], 1 [1887], 84). Πανύασις δ' ὁ ἐποποιὸς . . . . (= F 13 K).

10a Proklos *Chrestomathia* 15 (A. Severyns *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclos* [Liége and Paris 1938], 1. 2, 35). γεγόνασι δὲ τοῦ ἔπους ποιηταὶ κράτιστοι μὲν Ὅμηρος, Ἡσίοδος,

Πείσανδρος, Πανύασις, Ἀντίμαχος. Cf. Prokl. *Chrestom.* 1 (in *Homeri Opera* 5. 99 Allen).

MS M does not give Πείσανδρος (see Severyns, 1. 1, 188-9).

10b Io. Tzetzes, in Hesiodi *Opera* (*Poetae Minores Graeci* ed. T. Gaisford [Leipzig 1823], 2, 13; Severyns, 1. 2, 84). γεγόνασι δὲ τούτων τῶν ποιητῶν, ἄνδρες ὀνομαστοὶ πέντε, Ὅμηρος ὁ παλαιός, Ἀντίμαχος ὁ Κολοφώνιος, Πανύασις, Πείσανδρος ὁ Καμειρεύς, καὶ ὁ Ἀσκραῖος οὗτος Ἡσίοδος. Cf. Andronikos περὶ τάξεως ποιητῶν (*Anecd.Graec.* ed. Bekker [Berlin 1821], 3, 1461, note), who gives the same list, obviously following Tzetzes.

Πάνυσις Paris G Πανάκης Paris F

10c Io. Tzetzes, περὶ διαφορᾶς ποιητῶν 170 (*Anecd. Graec. Oxon.* ed. J. A. Cramer, 3, 340). Πεντὰς δὲ τούτων ἐστὶν ἐξῃρημένη, Ὅμηρος, Ἡσίοδος, Πάνυσις [*sic*] τρίτος, Πείσανδρος, Ἀντίμαχος, οἱ δ' ἄλλοι νέοι.

10d Is. Tzetzes, Schol. Lykophron (*Lycophronis Alexandra* ed. E. Scheer [Berlin 1881, repr. 1958], 2, 1). γεγόνασι δὲ ὀνομαστοὶ ποιηταὶ πέντε· Ὅμηρος, Ἡσίοδος, Πανύασις, Ἀντίμαχος, Πείσανδρος κ.τ.λ.

10e Michael Italikos (early 12th cent.) *Letter* 21 (Severyns 1. 1, 319; *Anecd. Graec. Oxon.* 3, 189 Cramer). εἶπον ἂν καὶ τίνες μὲν τοῦ ἔπους γεγόνασι κράτιστοι ποιηταί, ὧν ὁ Πανίασις [*sic*] γνωριμώτατος μετὰ Ὅμηρον·

11 Dionysios of Halikarnassos περὶ μιμήσεως 2. 2 (ed. H. Usener and L. Radermacher [Leipzig 1899-1904], 2, 204). Ἡσίοδος μὲν γὰρ ἐφρόντισεν ἡδονῆς δι' ὀνομάτων λειότητος καὶ συνθέσεως ἐμμελοῦς. Ἀντίμαχος δὲ εὐτονίας καὶ ἀγωνιστικῆς τραχύτητος καὶ τοῦ συνήθους τῆς ἐξαλλαγῆς. Πανύασις δὲ τάς τε ἀμφοῖν ἀρετὰς εἰσηνέγκατο, καὶ αὐτὸς πραγματείᾳ καὶ τῇ κατ' αὐτὸν οἰκονομίᾳ διήνεγκεν.

12 Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 10. 1. 52 (ed. L. Radermacher [repr. Leipzig 1959], 243). raro assurgit Hesiodus magnaque pars eius in nominibus est occupata, tamen utiles circa praecepta sententiae levitasque verborum et compositionis probabilis, daturque ei palma in illo mediocri genere dicendi. (53) contra in Antimacho vis et gravitas et minime volgare eloquendi genus habet laudem. sed quamvis ei secundas fere

grammaticorum consensus deferat, et adfectibus et iucunditate et dispositione et omnino arte deficitur, ut plane manifesto appareat, quanto sit aliud proximum esse, aliud secundum. (54) Panyasin, ex utroque mixtum, putant in eloquendo neutrius aequare virtutes, alterum tamen ab eo materia, alterum disponendi ratione superari.

13 Macrobius *Saturnalia* 5. 21. 19 (ed. J. Willis [Leipzig 1970], 1, 341). . . . Panyasis, egregius scriptor Graecorum, . . . (= F 7 K).

CHAPTER ONE

THE LIFE OF PANYASSIS

1. Panyassis' Name

Before examining the life of Panyassis, for which we must refer to the *Suda* article s. v. Πανύασις (T 1a), it is of interest to consider first the name of the poet (see Krausse, 7-12). Apart from the claim of Douris that Panyassis the poet was a Samian (see Section 2 below), the name is only found at Halikarnassos, where it occurs quite often in inscriptions. One notable occurrence is in *SIG* 45 (1. 52-4) when Φορμίωνος τοῦ Π[α]νυάTιος is mentioned.[1] Although the date is suitable, it must be doubted whether this is an actual reference to the poet, since the name seems to have been quite common at Halikarnassos, as can be seen from *SIG* 46 (1. 55-8), which gives the following examples (ca. 400 B.C.): Παραΰσσωλος Πανυάσσιο[ς (19); Πανυάσσιος τοῦ 'Ιδαγύγου (41); [Π]ανύασσις Δημητρίου (50); Σπαρεύδιγος Πανυάσσιος (62); Παν[ύ]ασσις 'Αρτέμωνος (151); Πανυάσσιος (180).[2] Since the name is not found outside Karia, it seems proper to attribute it to the Karian language.[3] It is made up of elements which are common in other Karian names. The first part Παν- or Πανα- is the same as in Παναμύης (*SIG* 45. 12, 30; 46. 11); Πανάβλημις (*SIG* 46. 23); Πανάμαρος (*CIG* 2719; 2720). The ending -υασσις, too, is often found in Karian names, e.g., 'Ακταύασσις (*SIG* 46. 112); 'Αρτύασσις (46. 46); 'Αρύασσις (46. 11, 155, 165).[4] The -σσ- in such names is sometimes spelt in other ways, with σ ('Αφύασις, 45. 16) and T (ΠανύαTις, 45. 17; 'ΟαTάTις, 45. 7; 'ΑλικαρναTεῖς, 45. 2).[5] For the name Panyassis, the epigraphic form ΠανύαTις is nowhere found in

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[1] This inscription is no. 32 in *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*, ed. R. Meiggs and D. Lewis (Oxford 1969), 69-72, and no. 25 in *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions* 1², ed. M. N. Tod (Oxford 1946).

[2] Cf. Meiggs and Lewis, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 72.

[3] See Stoessl (871), who cites P. F. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Gesch. der griech. Sprache* (Göttingen 1896), 377. See also L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen* (Prague 1964), 405, no. 1198; Krausse, 7.

[4] See also W. Brandenstein, *RE* Suppl. 6. 143, s.v. Karische Sprache, on 'Οάσσασσις (*SIG* 45. 7); Krausse, 7.

[5] For the value of the symbol T, see E. Schwyzer, *Griechische Grammatik* (Munich 1939-50, repr. 1968), 1. 318.

manuscripts, which generally favour Πανύασις,[6] though the form Πανύασσις is also found.[7] It may be that the element represented by T was so foreign to Greek ears that it could not be accurately rendered in Greek letters, or perhaps we can look upon the name Panyassis as one of those which can be spelt with a double or single σ, e.g., Parnassos, Kassandros, Kephisia.[8] The fact that the name is un-Greek may explain the vast number of corrupt forms which are found in the manuscripts of our sources.[9] I have preferred to adopt the spelling Πανύασσις, since it is found six times in an inscription (*SIG* 46, where it occurs twice in the nominative case and four times in the genitive). The spelling Πανύασις is not attested in inscriptions (cf. Krausse, 11).

The large number of Karian names in the early inscriptions must indicate a strong mixture of native Karians among the Greek colonists of Halikarnassos. Support for this conclusion can be found in the names of people in prominent families; for example, in the family of the tyrants we find the Greek name Artemisia along with the Karian names Pisindelis, son of Artemisia, and Pigres, brother of Artemisia (Hdt. 7. 99; *Suda* s.v. Πίγρης); and in the family of Panyassis, the Greek names Polyarchos, father of Panyassis, Herodotos and Theodoros, brother of Herodotos, as well as the Karian names Panyassis and Lyxes, father of Herodotos (see *Suda* s.vv. Πανύασις and Ἡρόδοτος).

2. Panyassis' Birthplace

On the birthplace of Panyassis, the *Suda* (T 1a) gives the following information: Πανύασις, Πολυάρχου, Ἁλικαρνασσεὺς .... Δοῦρις (76 F 64) δὲ Διοκλέους τε παῖδα ἀνέγραψε καὶ Σάμιον· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος Θούριον. Another reference to Panyassis' birthplace is

[6] *Suda* s.v. Πανύασις; Dion. Halik. περὶ μιμήσεως 2. 2; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6. 2. 25 and 6. 2. 11; Steph. Byz. s.vv. Ἀσπίς, Βέμβινα, Τρεμίλη; Ath. 2. 36b; 2. 37a; 11. 469d; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1. 5. 2; 3. 14. 4.

[7] Prokl. *Chrestom.* 15; Ath. 11. 498d; 4. 172d; *Etym. Gen.*, s.v. Μῦθος; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2. 36. 2 (twice); 2. 35. 3; etc.

[8] See A. Severyns, *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclos* 3 (Paris 1953), 254.

[9] Some examples of these corruptions, most of which have been collected by Tzschirner (7), are—of the single -σ- form: Panesius (Quint. 10. 1. 54); Παννύασις (Ath. 2. 36d); Pannyasis and Paniasus (Hier. Euseb. *Chron.* Olym. 72. 4); Πάνυσις and Πανάκης (Tzet. ad Hesiodi *Op.*); Πάντασις (Schol. A. R. 4. 1149, Wendel 308); of the -σσ- form: Πανίασσις (Schol. A. R. 4. 1149); Paniastis (Hyg. *Poet. Astr.* 2. 6 and Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 21. 19); Pimastis (Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 21.19).

given by Clement of Alexandria (T 8), Πανύασις ὁ Ἁλικαρνασσεύς; and he is claimed as a Halikarnassian by the inscription on the monument erected to Herodotos and himself (T 6). Hence, the weight of literary and epigraphic evidence is for the view that Panyassis was a Halikarnassian, and indeed such an opinion seems certain on the strength of the testimonies for the name Panyassis already discussed. The fact that Panyassis was related to Herodotos also supports the belief that he was a Halikarnassian, as does the story that he was put to death by Lygdamis, the tyrant of Halikarnassos (T 1a).

However, we must also try to account for the statement of Douris quoted above. An obvious corruption in the text is Ἡρόδοτος Θούριον. It is unlikely that Herodotos called Panyassis a Thourian since he never mentions him in his *Histories* (see Krausse, 12; Koranda, 4), and in any case it is probable that Thourioi was not founded until after Panyassis' death. Tzschirner (11) suggests ὁμοίως καὶ Νυμφόδωρος Θούριον δέ, and in support of this emendation he supposes a confusion between the two writers called Panyassis and says that the younger Panyassis could have been one of those who accompanied Herodotos to Thourioi. In suggesting that the younger Panyassis could have been ὀνειροκρίτης among the colonists, he refers to Photios and Hesychios s.v. Θουριομάντεις. Not surprisingly, this conjecture has not been received with much enthusiasm.[10] Wesseling's Ἡρόδοτον has been generally adopted (by, e.g., Koranda, 5-8): "Douris said that Panyassis was a Samian, and similarly that Herodotos was a Thourian." But Krausse, though admitting that the accusative is rightly restored, is still not satisfied; and proves that it was *usual* to refer to Herodotos as a Thourian, and his emendation is Ἡρόδοτον <τὸν> Θούριον: "Douris said that Panyassis was a Samian, and likewise that Herodotos, the Thourian [was a Samian]" (18). Tzschirner (10) stumbled unwittingly on the truth when he says, "Sed Samium potius, quam Thurinum dixisset, ut Panyasim Samium dixit." Krausse's arguments are accepted by Jacoby (*RE* Suppl. 2. 205-8, s.v. Herodotos), who cites evidence that Herodotos was regarded as a Thourian: Avienus, *Or. Marit.* 49. Herodotos ipse Thurius (Avienus employs early sources); Aristotle, *Rhet.* 3. 9, 1409a. 29. ἡ μὲν οὖν εἰρομένη λέξις ἡ ἀρχαία ἐστίν· " Ἡροδότου Θουρίου ἥδ' ἱστορίης ἀπόδειξις"; *Lindian Temple Chronicle*

[10] See Koranda, who consistently misspells Tzschirner's name, 5-6; Krausse, 12.

Ἡρόδοτος [ὁ Θ]ούριος ἐν τᾶι β' τᾶν ἱστοριᾶν. Herodotos was known as a Thourian in the pre-Hellenistic and Hellenistic periods, but as a Halikarnassian in the Roman period.[11] Jacoby (*RE* Suppl. 2. 213) suggests that Demodamas of Halikarnassos or Miletos (*FGrHist* 428), a general of Seleukos I and Antiochos I (Pliny *HN* 6. 49), may have reclaimed Herodotos (and presumably Panyassis) for Halikarnassos.[12] This suggestion is made more attractive by the fact that Demodamas was interested in epic (428 F 1). The earliest reference to Herodotos as a Halikarnassian is the inscription on the base of a portrait bust from the Pergamene library, built in the reign of Eumenes II (197-159 B.C.).[13]

Douris, therefore, called both Panyassis and Herodotos Samians. His only grounds for so doing must be the period of exile which Herodotos spent on Samos (*Suda* s.v. Ἡρόδοτος), and it seems reasonable to assume that Panyassis too fled to Samos.[14]

Krausse (20) suggests that there may be an additional doubt as to whether the Panyassis named by Douris is in fact the epic poet, since Douris calls him a son of Diokles. Thus he says that even if there is no reason why we should deny that Panyassis, son of Diokles, lived at Samos, we should leave as unresolved the question whether Panyassis, son of Polyarchos, ever spent any time there. For the reasons already mentioned, I feel that the reference to Samos *does* apply to Panyassis, the epic poet, but it is possible that, in saying that Panyassis was the son of Diokles, Douris is confusing the two men of that name. Both the *Suda* and Pausanias (T 7) tell us that Panyassis, the epic poet, was the son of Polyarchos, so that there is every possibility that the son of Diokles is the other Panyassis.[15] That Krausse may not be correct in his suggestion that the reference to Samos is connected with Panyassis, son of Diokles, is indicated by the fact that Panyassis, the philosopher, is also called a Halikarnassian (T 1b; 1c).

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[11] Jacoby, *RE* Suppl. 2. 209; Dion. Halik. *De Thuc.* 5; Strabo 14. 2. 16, C 656.

[12] Krausse (55) suggests that Apollonios of Aphrodisias may have been the writer who reclaimed Herodotos and Panyassis as Halikarnassians.

[13] See Jacoby, *RE* Suppl. 2. 210.

[14] See A. Schöll, "Herodots Entwicklung zu seinem Beruf", *Philologus* 10 (1855), 27 f.; Krausse, 19; H. Stein, *Herodotos* 1 (Berlin 1883), viii, note 8; McLeod, 100. Stoessl (873) suggests that Panyassis is called a Samian simply because of his relationship to Herodotos. It is possible that both men were granted Samian citizenship, hence Douris' statement.

[15] See Tzschirner (14), who perhaps goes too far in suggesting that Panyassis, son of Diokles, may have been the grandson of the epic poet.

3. The Younger Panyassis [16]

The younger Panyassis was the author of two books about dreams (T 1b), to which Artemidoros refers in three places (T 1c; also 2. 35 [Pack 159. 9]). As indicated above, he was a Halikarnassian, and may have been the son of Diokles mentioned by Douris. It has long been thought that τερατοσκόπος should refer to him, and not to Panyassis, the epic poet, but Stoessl (872) does not wish to change the text and refers to the *Suda* s.v. 'Αντιφῶν (no. 2744), 'Αθηναῖος, τερατοσκόπος καὶ ἐποποιὸς καὶ σοφιστής.[17] He goes on to suggest that because of τέρατα in the *Herakleia*, the poet could be called τερατοσκόπος (see also Stoessl, 889, 37). But in Hesychios, τερασκόπος is rendered by ὀνειροκρίτης, which seems very applicable to the younger Panyassis, who wrote περὶ ὀνείρων. Tzschirner suggests, without positive evidence, that the younger Panyassis could have lived around the time of Antiphon the sophist (*RE* s.v. Antiphon, no. 15), of whom Hermogenes says (Περὶ ἰδεῶν 2. 386, 400 Rabe = *Rhet. Graec.* ed. Spengel 2. 414) ἕτερος δὲ ὁ καὶ τερατοσκόπος καὶ ὀνειροκρίτης λεγόμενος γενέσθαι, with which we can compare *Suda* s.v. 'Αντιφῶν (no. 2746), 'Αθηναῖος, ὀνειροκρίτης, περὶ κρίσεως ὀνείρων ἔγραψεν. This Antiphon can be dated to the second half of the fifth century, since he was an opponent of Sokrates.[18] None of this evidence can provide us with an accurate date for the younger Panyassis, but at least it shows that books about dreams were in vogue at the end of the fifth century.

4. Panyassis' Family and his Relationship to Herodotos [19]

As we have seen, Panyassis the epic poet was almost certainly the son of Polyarchos. He undoubtedly belonged to a noble family, since he was related to Herodotos, who is said to have been "one of the nobles", τῶν ἐπιφανῶν.[20] Being nobles, it is not surprising that the family came into conflict with the tyrant Lygdamis, since aristocrats are nearly always opposed to dictatorship, especially if it is of a reforming character, as that of Lygdamis may have been. At any rate, members of the family were so devoted to their cause

[16] See Tzschirner, 72; Krausse, 57-63; Stoessl, 922-3.
[17] Schöll, *Philologus* 10, 36, note 9, also refers to this.
[18] Xen. *Mem.* 1. 6; Diog. Laert. 2. 46, who calls him τερατοσκόπος, citing Aristotle (F 75 Rose).
[19] Cf. the discussion by Krausse, 48-53.
[20] *Suda* s.v. 'Ηρόδοτος. See Jacoby, *RE* Suppl. 2. 216; McLeod, 99-100.

that at least two (Panyassis and Herodotos) were banished, and at least one (Panyassis) lost his life.

The *Suda* (T 1a) sets forth two versions of the relationship between Panyassis and Herodotos, which give us the following trees.[21]

*Called Dryo by the *Suda* s.v. Ἡρόδοτος, where we also learn that Herodotos had a brother called Theodoros.

It is remarkable that the names of so many members of the family are preserved, but they seem authentic in view of the mixture of Karian and Greek names. The name Lyxes is perhaps cognate with Lygdamis and is not found elsewhere than Halikarnassos, where it occurs twice in the late fifth-century inscription already cited in connection with the name Panyassis (*SIG* 46). It is found once as the son of a certain Pigres (28), and once as the father of someone whose name ended in -δαιος (176).[22] The name Theodoros occurs in the same inscription (31). The two versions of the name of Herodotos' mother, Dryo and Rhoio, could be easily confused.[23] Both seem plausible. The former is a nymph-name (cf. Dryas), and the latter is found in Schol. Lykophron 580, where it is given to a

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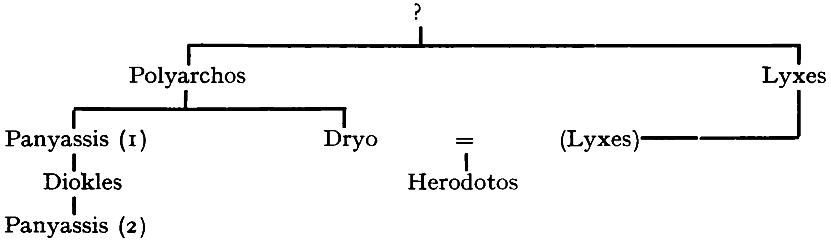
[21] Tzschirner (14) suggests a composite tree which provides both relationships and even extends it to include the younger Panyassis.



However, this is going further than the evidence will allow and the uncle-niece marriage makes it unlikely.

[22] Krausse (51, note 7) mentions this Lyxes son of Pigres in support of his suggestion that the family of Panyassis and Herodotos could have been related to that of Artemisia. His arguments are not conclusive.

[23] Confusion could easily arise in view of the pronunciation of *oi* as υ (see C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects* [Chicago 1955], 32).

daughter of Staphylos (σταφυλή, a bunch of grapes), so perhaps it comes from ῥοιάς = ῥυάς, cf. Hesychios ῥυὰς ἄμπελος, a vine that sheds grapes. Another possible etymology is from ῥόα, Ion. ῥοιή, a pomegranate.

To return to the relationship between Panyassis and Herodotos, that of uncle and nephew has been generally preferred by scholars.[24] The uncle-nephew relationship may be favoured because of πολλῷ πρεσβύτερος, as Tzschirner suggests, or perhaps because of the Eusebian date Olym. 72. 4 (489 B.C.) when Panyassis was "poeta inlustris" (T 4b). However it will be better to examine the account in the *Suda* to try to determine the actual relationship (T 1a): ἱστόρηται δὲ Πανύασις Ἡροδότου τοῦ ἱστορικοῦ ἐξάδελφος· γέγονε γὰρ Πανύασις Πολυάρχου, ὁ δὲ Ἡρόδοτος Λύξου τοῦ Πολυάρχου ἀδελφοῦ. τινὲς δὲ οὐ Λύξην, ἀλλὰ Ῥοιὼ τὴν μητέρα Ἡροδότου, Πανυάσιδος ἀδελφήν, ἱστόρησαν. The meaning is very clear as far as ἀδελφοῦ, but the language of the last sentence is certainly very tortured and has long been considered corrupt. Some scholars, wishing to keep the uncle-nephew relationship, have looked for the fault after the words τινὲς δὲ οὐ Λύξην, and suggest that <ὠνόμασαν> or <ἱστόρησαν> should be inserted, so that the meaning will be: "But some people did not mention Lyxes but said that Rhoio, the mother of Herodotos, was Panyassis' sister" (Tzschirner, 13, who cites Eckstein and Bernhardy as sharing his opinion). The other place where a corruption has been sought is the phrase Πανυάσιδος ἀδελφήν. The emendation to Πολυάρχου ἀδελφήν is generally credited to Krausse (so Adler; Jacoby *RE* Suppl. 2. 217), but Krausse himself (49) shows that it was made by Heyse (*Quaest. Herodot.* 15), a fact which is reported also by Tzschirner (13), Koranda (11) and Funcke.[25] This change seems to me to be acceptable, for the following reasons: the first thing that the *Suda* says about the relationship is that the men were cousins. The word ἐξάδελφος (-η) clearly means the son or

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[24] Of the writers of recent literary histories the following, for example, call Panyassis an uncle of Herodotos: G. Murray, *A History of Ancient Greek Literature* (London 1897), 70; T. A. Sinclair, *A History of Greek Classical Literature* (London 1934), 156; M. Hadas, *A History of Greek Literature* (London and New York 1950), 40; A. Lesky, *A History of Greek Literature*, Eng. trans. (London 1966), 106, 307. H. J. Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Literature*[4] (London 1951, repr. 1965), 300, 315, thinks that they were cousins. W. Schmid and O. Stählin, *Geschichte der Griechischen Literatur* 1 (Munich 1929) 1, 297, give both relationships.

[25] C. Ph. Funcke, who reviews Tzschirner's book in *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik*, 39. 2 (1843), 134-5.

daughter of an uncle or aunt.[26] This cousin relationship is then expanded in γέγονε . . . Πολυάρχου ἀδελφοῦ; Panyassis and Herodotos were cousins because their fathers were brothers. By changing Πανυάσιδος to Πολυάρχου, we have in τινὲς δὲ οὐ κ.τ.λ. merely another explanation of the cousin relationship, "some people said that Lyxes was not a brother of Polyarchos, but Rhoio, Herodotos' mother, was Polyarchos' sister", that is, Herodotos was a cousin of Panyassis, not through his father, but his mother. This change involves only a slight ellipse in understanding ἀδελφόν from ἀδελφήν, which is made easier since the statement that Lyxes was a brother of Polyarchos has been made immediately before. Certainly the Greek is a great improvement on the existing text, and it is at least as attractive as the insertion of <ὠνόμασαν> or <ἱστόρησαν>. The confusion by a copyist of two names beginning with Π is understandable, and it is not surprising that he should write Πανυάσιδος for Πολυάρχου when Panyassis is the subject of the article. I suggest, then, that Panyassis and Herodotos were first-cousins, because Panyassis' father was the brother of either Herodotos' father or mother. The cousin relationship should not be rejected because of a disparity of dates, since the difference in their ages is perhaps not as great as has been thought, as shall be seen when we consider the date of Panyassis.

5. The Date of Panyassis and his Political Activity

On the date of Panyassis, the *Suda* gives the following information (T 1a): ὁ δὲ Πανύασις γέγονε κατὰ τὴν οη′ ὀλυμπιάδα (468/5). κατὰ δέ τινας πολλῷ πρεσβύτερος. καὶ γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν Περσικῶν. ἀνῃρέθη δὲ ὑπὸ Λυγδάμιδος, τοῦ τρίτου τυραννήσαντος Ἁλικαρνασσοῦ. Here again the *Suda* is reporting two traditions which we must examine.[27]

As for the first statement, about the seventy-eighth Olympiad (468/5), it is natural that we should interpret γέγονε as a *floruit*, since Panyassis is said to have been killed by Lygdamis (before 444, probably by 450; see below on the death of Panyassis). Such a *floruit* implies a birthdate of 508/5, which would be perfectly in keeping with a date ca. 450 for the death of the poet.

However, this view becomes untenable when we consider the

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[26] See Steph. *Thes. Ling. Graec.* ἐξαδέλφη. ἡ θυγάτηρ τοῦ θείου ἢ τῆς θείας. The word corresponds to the Attic ἀνεψιός (see W. G. Rutherford, ed., *The New Phrynichus* [London 1881], 361, no. 274). Cf. Krausse, 50.

[27] Cf. the very full discussion by Krausse, 20-48 and 53-7.

second tradition; "According to some people he was much older, for he was alive (ἦν) at the time of τὰ Περσικά." By τὰ Περσικά the *Suda* means 490 (the battle of Marathon) or 480 (the expedition of Xerxes). Some scholars (e.g., Tzschirner, 16; Koranda, 14) prefer to interpret the phrase as 490, but Röhde (*RM* 33 [1878], 207) and Krausse (32-3) suggest, with greater probability, that 480 is meant, the year of Xerxes' expedition. For this meaning of the phrase we can compare the *Suda* s.v. Χοιρίλος (T 2), where the phrase ἐπὶ τῶν Περσικῶν denotes clearly the seventy-fifth Olympiad (480/77). While it is tempting to take ἦν as meaning "was alive", perhaps denoting a young man of twenty-five to thirty years, which would be in agreement with the suggested 508/5 date for Panyassis' birth, it is clear that πολλῷ πρεσβύτερος indicates a completely different tradition from that represented by γέγονε κατὰ τὴν οη' ὀλυμπιάδα. Indeed πολλῷ suggests such a difference that it is not satisfactory even to take ἦν as denoting a *floruit*, giving a birthdate ca. 520. An interval of only twelve to fifteen years is not enough to warrant πολλῷ πρεσβύτερος (cf. Krausse, 21). The only way in which we can overcome this difficulty is to assume (however reluctantly) that γέγονε must refer to a birthdate (see Röhde, *RM* 33, 207; Koranda, 13-14; Krausse, 22 and 34). In that case, either the statement is incorrect, or it cannot refer to Panyassis the epic poet.

Although it is clearly wrong to say that Panyassis the epic poet was born in 468/5, this must have been an opinion held by some people, for we have other indications of it. One of these is the *Suda* article s.v. Ἀντίμαχος (T 3). Here the opinion that Antimachos was Panyassis' servant is rejected, but the belief that he was his pupil is accepted, and Panyassis is shown as a contemporary of Stesimbrotos.[28] γέγονε δὲ πρὸ Πλάτωνος shows that Antimachos was older than Plato, not that he lived before him, and this is confirmed by the story in Plutarch's *Lysandros* 18. 4. Ἀντιμάχου δὲ τοῦ Κολοφωνίου καὶ Νικηράτου τινὸς Ἡρακλεώτου ποιήμασι Λυσάνδρεια διαγωνισαμένων ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν Νικήρατον ἐστεφάνωσεν, ὁ δὲ Ἀντίμαχος ἀχθεσθεὶς ἠφάνισε τὸ ποίημα. Πλάτων δὲ νέος ὢν τότε, καὶ θαυμάζων τὸν Ἀντίμαχον ἐπὶ τῇ ποιητικῇ, βαρέως φέροντα τὴν ἧτταν ἀνελάμβανε καὶ παρεμυθεῖτο, τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι κακὸν εἶναι φάμενος τὴν ἄγνοιαν, ὥσπερ τὴν τυφλότητα τοῖς μὴ βλέπουσιν. Our other evidence for the date of Antimachos agrees with this. Diodoros (13. 108) reports that according to

[28] For discussion of the relationship between Panyassis and Antimachos, see Krausse, 22-5, 55-6.

Apollodoros of Athens (*FGrHist* 244 F 74) Antimachos flourished (ἠνθηκέναι) at the end of the Peloponnesian War. This points to a birthdate around 445, about four Olympiads before Plato; hence, if Antimachos had been the pupil of Panyassis, the instruction would have taken place ca. 428/5. Taking this as a *floruit* for Panyassis, we arrive at a birthdate of 468/5. The coincidence is very satisfactory. The linking of Panyassis with Stesimbrotos is understandable, since he had a *floruit* around the time of the Peloponnesian War.[29] The story of Panyassis being the teacher of Antimachos presumably arose from borrowings and recollections of Panyassis in the work of Antimachos (cf. Panyassis F 25 K and Antimachos F 102 Wyss). The result was that people incorrectly supposed a *floruit* (ca. 428) for Panyassis, based on the false assumption that he had taught Antimachos.[30]

The coupling of Panyassis with Choirilos of Samos may also have grown out of this story.[31] The *Suda* s.v. Χοιρίλος (T 2) confuses the Samian epic poet and the epic poet of Iasos, but the words γενέσθαι δὲ κατὰ Πανύασιν τοῖς χρόνοις must refer to Choirilos of Samos, though ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν Περσικῶν ὀλυμπιάδι οε′ νεανίσκον ἤδη εἶναι cannot be correct. Nor can they apply to Choirilos the tragedian, because he was already producing plays in Olym. 64 (524-521) (*Suda* s.v. Χοιρίλος no. 594) and competed against Aischylos and Pratinas in Olym. 75 (500-497) (*Suda* s.v. Πρατίνας). He thus could not have been described as νεανίσκος in Olym. 75.[32] Choirilos of Iasos was a companion of Alexander the Great (Hor. *Epist.* 2. 1. 232-4). The Samian was with Lysandros at the end of Olym. 93 (Plut. *Lys.* 18. 4) and can

[29] See Ath. (13. 589d), who says that Stesimbrotos lived at the same time as Perikles, and Plut. (*Kimon* 4. 4) who says that he was contemporary with Kimon. Xen. (*Sym.* 3. 6) shows him as a teacher of Nikeratos, son of Nikias. The evidence for Stesimbrotos' date is collected in *FGrHist* 107 T 1-5. This erroneous *floruit* for Panyassis the epic poet may have gained credence from the fact that the younger Panyassis, the writer on dreams, may well have flourished at that time.

[30] Tzschirner believes that Antimachos could have been Panyassis' pupil. He makes Antimachos considerably older than is usual, proposing a birth date of 464. He uses Diod. 13. 108 to support his date, but surely ἠνθηκέναι there means much younger than sixty years. See Funcke, *Neue Jahrbücher*, 39. 2, 136.

[31] On Choirilos see G. L. Huxley, "Choirilos of Samos", *GRBS* 10 (1969), 12-29 (especially 12-13 on his date and the link with Panyassis). For testimonies see *FGrHist* 696 F 33. Cf. also Krausse, 38-41, 55-6.

[32] It is possible that νεανίσκος refers to an obscure Choirilos who helped the comic poet Ekphantides. See Hesychios s.v. Χορίλα Ἐκφαντίδες; ἐκκεχοιριλωμένη.

hardly have been born before Olym. 75. Hence the dating of Panyassis to Olym. 78 is the same dating as that which linked him with Choirilos of Samos. Since the Samian was in his old age in Olym. 93, and Antimachos had his *floruit* in Olym. 94, it is understandable that those who thought that Panyassis had been Antimachos' teacher should date Panyassis to the same time as Choirilos.[33] I think that the above reasons are the best explanation for the statement ὁ δὲ Πανύασις γέγονε κατὰ τὴν οη′ ὀλυμπιάδα (468/5).

If the sentence ὁ δὲ Πανύασις γέγονε κατὰ τὴν οη′ ὀλυμπιάδα does not refer to Panyassis the epic poet, it can only mean Panyassis the younger, the writer on dreams. If so, it is perfectly in keeping with what has been already tentatively suggested about the date of the younger Panyassis (i.e., that he was a contemporary of Antiphon and was active in the second half of the fifth century), but conclusive evidence is lacking.

Since the main objection to accepting γέγονε κατὰ τὴν οη′ ὀλυμπιάδα as referring to Panyassis the epic poet is the fact that he is said to have been killed by Lygdamis, we must look at that tradition also. The date of the poet's death should help us to date his birth.

As the "Halikarnassians" appear in the first Athenian tribute list (454 B.C.) and thereafter,[34] most scholars have suggested that the rule of Lygdamis ended before 454, and that the Halikarnassos inscription (*SIG* 45) must also be dated prior to that year.[35] But McLeod (97-9) clearly shows that the Athenian tribute list need not imply that Lygdamis had ceased to rule by 454. In fifth-century Karia local tyranny was a normal form of government,[36] and Athens may have been content to leave things as they were. McLeod proves his point by examining the tribute-list entries for Syangela (98-9). Lygdamis then could still have been reigning in 454

[33] Note, however, that the tradition which said that Panyassis revived the dying epic (T 1a) must have understood that Panyassis was older than Choirilos.

[34] See B. D. Meritt, H. T. Wade-Gery, M. F. McGregor, *The Athenian Tribute Lists* 1 (Cambridge, Mass. 1939), 224-5.

[35] Stein, *Herodotos* 1, viii; Krausse, 25-6; Jacoby, *RE* Suppl. 2. 219. 47; 230. 10 f.; 247. 7 f.; Stoessl, 874; U. Kahrstedt, *RE* 13. 2. 2217, s.v. Lygdamis (4); Schmid-Stählin, *GGL* 1. 2, 556; Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 1. 38; C. D. Buck, *The Greek Dialects* (Chicago 1955), 184; L. H. Jeffery, *The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece* (Oxford 1961), 353, 358. For others see the list given by McLeod, 96, note 4.

[36] See Hdt. 7. 195 for Aridolis, tyrant of Alabanda; 8. 87 for Damasithymos, tyrant of Kalynda; 5. 37 and 7. 98 for Histiaios, son of Tymnes, tyrant of Termera.

and for some time afterwards.[37] Nor is the Halikarnassos inscription of much help in dating the tyrant. Miss Jeffery says that it should not be much earlier than the middle of the fifth century.[38]

Lygdamis, then, could have been ruling around 454-450. When did he come to the throne? He is said to have been the third tyrant of Halikarnassos, for Pisindelis was the son of Artemisia, and Lygdamis was the son of Pisindelis (*Suda* s.v. Ἡρόδοτος). Artemisia is the only tyrant of Halikarnassos named by Herodotos, and the historian seems to have had a great admiration for her, in spite of the subsequent conflict between their families (7. 99; 8. 68-9; 87-8; 93; 101-3). In 7. 99 he tells how she, a widow, joined the Persian expedition in 480 with five ships, though she had a son whom Herodotos describes as νεηνίης. Stein takes this to mean that the son was old enough to have led the forces.[39] Certainly Herodotos says that there was no need for Artemisia to have gone on the expedition, οὐδεμιῆς οἱ ἐούσης ἀναγκαίης. McLeod (95) states that νεηνίης means, in Herodotos, a young unmarried man between the ages, approximately, of twenty and thirty.[40] The normal age for marriage, in the case of men, was about thirty.[41] This evidence points to a birthdate of approximately 510-500 for the son of Artemisia.

There can be little doubt that this son was Pisindelis (see McLeod, 96 and note 3). While it is true that Plutarch (*De Hdt. Malig.* 43) may name Pigres as a son of Artemisia, in the *Suda* s.v. Πίγρης he is referred to as her brother. But even if Pigres were the son of Artemisia, it seems probable that Pisindelis was the son mentioned by Herodotos. The context of Herodotos suggests that the νεηνίης was Artemisia's eldest son, and since Pisindelis succeeded her, he would, in the normal course of events, be her eldest son.

Pisindelis was succeeded by Lygdamis. Those who assume that the rule of Lygdamis must have ended before 454 have been forced to see him as a younger brother, rather than as a son of Pisindelis.[42]

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[37] Meiggs and Lewis, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, admit that Lygdamis may still have been ruling after 454 (72) and give only an approximate date, 465-450, for the inscription (69).

[38] Jeffery, *Local Scripts*, 353.

[39] Stein, *Herodotos* 1, viii.

[40] See McLeod, 95, note 2, for a list of references to the word in Herodotos and other testimonies.

[41] See M. E. White, *JHS* 84 (1964), 142, note 11.

[42] Jacoby, *RE* Suppl. 2. 230; Kahrstedt, *RE* 13. 2. 2217; Tod, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 1. 38. Even Meiggs and Lewis, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, 72, suggest that Lygdamis was either a nephew or son of

But, as we have seen, Pisindelis was born ca. 510-500, and a son could well have been born to him ca. 480-470 (see McLeod, 100). We have noticed that Lygdamis could have been ruling after 454; he may well have been a son of Pisindelis since, from the dates suggested above, he could have been old enough to have succeeded his father ca. 460.[43] Hence, the *terminus post quem* for the death of Panyassis is 460.

The *terminus ante quem* can be derived from the career of Herodotos, who is said to have been one of the original colonists of Thourioi when it was founded in 444/3.[44] Prior to this, he had spent several years in Athens in the mid-440s.[45] But before going to Athens, he had stayed for some time in Halikarnassos after the overthrow of Lygdamis, until he was driven out by the antagonism of the citizens.[46] All these events must have taken some time, so that the latest date for the liberation of Halikarnassos would be 447, although a date nearer 450 is more likely. The lowest date for the death of Panyassis is therefore ca. 450. But as McLeod suggests (100), Panyassis should be considered a victim of a premature return from Samos, rather than a martyr in the final successful coup (see Jacoby, *RE* Suppl. 2. 219. 62 ff.; 247. 3 ff.). Hence a date a few years before 450 seems preferable. Also, of course, the exile to Samos must have taken place after the accession of Lygdamis (see *Suda* s.v. Ἡρόδοτος), that is, after 460.[47] Moreover, some time must have been spent in Samos before Panyassis made his abortive attempt to return to Halikarnassos. These considerations should make us bring the upper limit for the date of Panyassis' death down to about 455. Could it be that the Halikarnassian exiles in Samos

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Artemisia. They are surely mistaken in assuming that Artemisia's son (Hdt. 7. 99) was too young to lead the army (cf. Stein, *Herodotos* 1, viii).

[43] Müller (2, 532) puts the death of Panyassis in 465. He does not discuss the subject but perhaps takes Panyassis' execution as denoting a *floruit*, equivalent to the *Suda* reference to Olym. 78.

[44] See McLeod, 100. Jacoby, *RE* Suppl. 2. 224-25; 242. 62 f., doubts the evidence that Herodotos was one of the original settlers at Thourioi. However, Ph.-E. Legrand, *Hérodote*: *Introduction* (Paris 1932), 15-16, accepts that he was. J. L. Myres, *Herodotos, Father of History* (Oxford 1953), 13, says that Herodotos "was, if not an original colonist, at least an early settler".

[45] Jacoby, *RE* Suppl. 2. 226-9; 233-7; 247. 19 f.

[46] *Suda*, s.v. Ἡρόδοτος; Jacoby, *RE* Suppl. 2. 225, accepts the story, in view of the fact that Herodotos apparently renounced his Halikarnassian citizenship.

[47] Cf. Jacoby, *RE* Suppl. 2. 229, who suggests that the exile to Samos followed a revolt against the tyranny after the battle of Eurymedon in 461.

(who were undoubtedly oligarchs—τῶν ἐπιφανῶν) received impetus and inspiration from the successful oligarchic revolution in the island in early 453? [48] If so, the attempted coup in Halikarnassos which resulted in the death of Panyassis can be dated to 453 or after, a date which is in keeping with the other evidence. At any rate, it is reasonable to conclude from this discussion that Panyassis met his death 455-450 (cf. Huxley, 177).

What significance has this conclusion for the problem of the date of Panyassis' birth? Firstly, since Panyassis met his death at the hands of Lygdamis, he is more likely to have died in middle life than at an advanced age.[49] Secondly, the man who composed at least two huge poems totalling sixteen thousand lines and who was thoroughly versed in the traditional epic language is not likely to have been a young man. Hence we must conclude that at the time of his death Panyassis was in middle life, forty-five to fifty-five years old, and thus we reach a birthdate ca. 505-500.

How does this date fit with the other evidence for Panyassis? According to Krausse (42 f.), the reference to Panyassis in the Eusebian table seems to have been moved from Olym. 75. 1 to Olym. 72. 4 because of lack of space as so many events were ascribed to Olym. 75. Krausse gives Simonides and Pindar as examples of inaccurate dates. Both are listed as Olym. 73. 2 (483/2), but Pindar was born about 518 and Simonides in 556.[50] The discrepancy in their true dates shows the unreliability of the Eusebian dates for literary men at this period. Hence the Eusebian date for Panyassis is really the same as that indicated by ἐπὶ τῶν Περσικῶν. It is possible that this date represents a *floruit* calculated by someone who knew

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[48] For this revolution and its date see J. P. Barron, *The Silver Coins of Samos* (London 1966), 89-91.

[49] Avienus' reference to "longior aetas" (T 5) is taken by Krausse (47-8) as indicating that Avienus was confused over the date of Panyassis, thinking that he flourished at the time of the Persian War and was still alive in the time of Antimachos. But in spite of Krausse's objections, I still feel that the phrase can mean "a more remote period", "greater antiquity". Krausse argues that, seen from Avienus' time, both Panyassis and Aratus are very remote, and that Panyassis is too far removed from the age of heroes to reveal any special knowledge about the deeds of Herakles. But Avienus may well be justified in thinking that "the last great epic poet of archaic Greece" (Huxley, 177) belonged to a completely different world from the Hellenistic didactic poet, a world much closer to the great mythical past.

[50] See C. M. Bowra, *Pindar* (Oxford 1964), 99; for Simonides see F 77 Diehl and Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry from Alcman to Simonides*[2] (Oxford 1961), 309, note 7.

that Panyassis died ca. 450, but who thought that he had enjoyed his "three score years and ten", giving him a life-span 520-450, with a *floruit* at 480. But there can be little doubt that the Persian War was a convenient period for dating any individuals who were active around that time, just as we use the phrases "pre-war", "wartime", "postwar".[51] Even Herodotos was sometimes linked with the Persian Wars, presumably because he wrote the history of them (cf. Diod. 2. 32. 2 Ἡρόδοτος μὲν οὖν κατὰ Ξέρξην γεγονὼς τοῖς χρόνοις). Eusebios puts him at Olym. 78. 1 (468/7), which, as Jacoby points out (*RE* Suppl. 2. 229), was the year in which the meteorite fell at Aigospotamoi, the next important event after the Persian War.[52] The chronology in Eusebios shows that Herodotos was not considered very far in date from Panyassis, and it is in agreement with the fact that they were cousins. The birthdate of Herodotos, usually given as 484, is based merely on a *floruit* in 444/3, the date of the foundation of Thourioi. As Jacoby admits (*RE* Suppl. 2. 237), Herodotos' birth could be as early as 490. Similarly, it is quite acceptable to date Panyassis' birth to ca. 505-500, the period indicated by our inquiry into the date of his death. Such a date is not at all inconsistent with ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν Περσικῶν. Thus the lifespan of Panyassis can, with some justification, be dated to the period from 505/00 to 455/50, with, perhaps, a slight preference for the lower set of dates.

6. The Memorial to Herodotos and Panyassis (T 6)

This stone was found at Rhodes being used as a threshold and is now in the Berlin Museum. Hiller v. Gaertringen (*Hermes* 76, 222) suggests that it came to Rhodes from Halikarnassos as ballast in a ship, after it had been damaged and abandoned on the seashore (cf. Stoessl, 922).

The first two lines indicate that the epigram is the work of Antipatros of Sidon or one of his imitators (cf. *Anth. Pal.* 7. 748). Hiller v. Gaertringen argues that Antipatros himself is the author, which would make the inscription not earlier than ca. 150 B.C.[53] In the

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[51] See Jacoby, "The First Athenian Prose Writer", *Mnemosyne* 13³ (1947), 13-64 (= *Abhandlungen zur griechischen Geschichtschreibung* ed. H. Bloch [Leiden 1956] 100-43), 48 f., on the difficulty of accurately dating a fifth-century prose writer. He refers to the "rough synchronism with the Περσικά".

[52] For the story of the meteorite, which was predicted by Anaxagoras, see Diog. Laert. 2. 10; Pliny (*HN* 2. 149) gives the date.

[53] For the date of Antipatros see e.g. *OCD*² s.v. Antipater no. 3; Lesky, *History of Greek Literature*, 740.

inscription, Herodotos and Panyassis are proudly claimed as Halikarnassians who won glory among the Greeks for their native city.

In line 5, I prefer (with Peek, *Hermes* 76, 223) to take γλύκιον as a positive from γλύκιος (cf. Aristotle *Eudem. Eth.* 1238 a 28), rather than as a comparative. As Peek says, the phrase "Herodotos' sweet mouth" is but a stylistic way of saying "Herodotos". Clearly the pair Herodotos and Panyassis are being treated together, so that Ἡροδότου γλύκιον στόμα and Πανύασσιν ἡρ[οφ]αγῆν must be parallel structures. The translation "no sweeter mouth than Herodotos" is not suitable as a parallel to Πανύασσιν ἡρ[οφ]αγῆν.

The adjective applied to Panyassis is unusual and interesting. It seems to mean "made famous through Hera", and as Hiller v. Gaertringen points out (*Hermes* 76, 221), it should really be applied to Herakles, whose glory was produced (involuntarily) by Hera, since it was her spite which led to the labours. The composer of the epigram has transferred the adjective to Panyassis, who celebrated the deeds of Herakles in his poem and thus in his turn became famous. Stoessl (922) suggests that the writer is playing on the words Ἡρόδοτος and ἡροφανής. The word is found once as a proper name, Ἡροφάνης, a Troizenian writer (*FGrHist* 605 = Paus. 2. 34. 4), and it is a remarkable coincidence that Troizen was the mother city of Halikarnassos (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἁλικαρνασσός).[54] For the name Ἡροφάνης, Hiller v. Gaertringen compares Ἀθηνοφάνης, and for the adjective ἡροφανής, he cites διογενής and θεοφανής.

The work of both Halikarnassians is referred to as μολπαί. This is readily understandable in the case of Panyassis, though μολπαί is not a word normally associated with epic poetry. Perhaps we can interpret it in a general sense as "songs", or "singing", equivalent to ἀοιδαί. The use of the word in connection with Herodotos is less easy to understand. Perhaps, as Hiller v. Gaertringen suggests (*Hermes* 76, 222), by this time, the histories of Herodotos had been superseded as historical documents by the works of Thukydides, Xenophon, and Ephoros, so that men turned to Herodotos for his style and dialect, but especially for his charming descriptions. Similarly, in later times the books of Herodotos' histories were associated with the names of the nine Muses.

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[54] See also Hdt. 7. 99; Strabo 14. 2. 16, C 656; Paus. 2. 30. 8; *CIG* 2655.

CHAPTER TWO

THE POEMS OF PANYASSIS AND HIS REPUTATION IN ANTIQUITY

It is clear that Panyassis' native city of Halikarnassos had some reputation for epic poetry. The poet Pigres, sometimes alleged to be the author of the *Margites* and the *Batrachomyomachia*, was undoubtedly a Halikarnassian (*Suda* s.v. Πίγρης; Plutarch *De Hdt. Malig.* 43). Moreover, Demodamas of Halikarnassos (or Miletos) claimed that the well-known epic poem, the *Kypria*, was the work of a Halikarnassian (*FGrHist* 428 F 1). Hence the poems of Panyassis are part of a considerable Halikarnassian tradition.

1. The Poems

On the writings of Panyassis, the *Suda* makes the following statement (T 1a): ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλειάδα ἐν βιβλίοις ιδ′, εἰς ἔπη ͵θ′, Ἰωνικὰ ἐν πενταμέτρῳ, ἔστι δὲ καὶ περὶ Κόδρον καὶ Νηλέα καὶ τὰς Ἰωνικὰς ἀποικίας εἰς ἔπη ͵ζ′. Thus Panyassis was known for two poems, a *Herakleias* or *Herakleia* and an *Ionika*, and these we must discuss in turn.

(a) The *Herakleia*

The *Suda* (T 1a) uses the name Ἡρακλειάς, but the form Ἡράκλεια is generally preferred by the sources.[1] Pausanias (10. 8. 9 = F 15 K) refers to Panyassis πεποιηκὼς ἐς Ἡρακλέα ἔπη, which may suggest that the poem did not have a fixed title. Aristotle, discussing poems about Herakles, uses the name Ἡρακληΐς (*Poet.* 8. 2. 1451a 20). All three forms may be admitted as the title of Panyassis' poem, and parallels can be found for each, e.g., Ἡρακλειάς: Μινυάς; Ἡράκλεια: Ὀδύσσεια, Τηλεγόνεια; Ἡρακληΐς: Θησηΐς, Θηβαΐς, Δαναΐς (see Tzschirner, 38-9; Kraüsse, 63). I have preferred Ἡράκλεια since it is the form most often used for Panyassis' poem.

The *Herakleia* is said by the *Suda* to have been in fourteen books, totalling 9,000 lines. References are extant to book 1 (F 1 K and F 2 K), book 3 (F 4 K and F 5 K), book 5 (F 28, and perhaps F 7 K),

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[1] Steph. Byz. s.vv. Ἀσπίς, Βέμβινα; Eratosth. *Katast.* 11; Ath. 11. 469d and 498d; Schol. Pindar *Pyth.* 3. 177b; Schol. Germ. *Arat.* G 128; BP 61.

book 11 (F 11 K), and perhaps book 4 (F 7 K). A total of some sixty hexameters survives.

The length of the poem can be compared to the first fourteen books of the *Iliad*, which total 8,948 lines, the shortest (book 3) being 461 lines, and the longest (book 5), 909. The *Odyssey* in its first fourteen books totals only 7,185 lines, ranging from 331 (book 6) to 847 (book 4). It seems probable that the books of the *Herakleia*, with an average length very close to that of the *Iliad* books, generally lay within the range 400-900 lines (cf. Tzschirner, 40).

In attempting to determine the structure of the poem, we are hampered by the fact that comparatively few fragments are ascribed to specific books. However, some attempt to discover the structure of the work must be made, although it is unlikely that an order can be found which will meet universal agreement (cf. Tzschirner, 39 ff.). Some details can be determined (for a fuller discussion of these, see the commentary on the individual fragments): (i) the episode of the Nemean lion came in the first book (F 1 K and F 2 K); (ii) the hunting of the Erymanthian boar in book 3 is implied by F 4 K; (iii) the voyage to Erytheia for the cattle of Geryon was described in book 4 or 5 (F 7 K); (iv) Herakles probably arrived in Erytheia in book 5 (F 28); (v) Herakles had adventures in the south-eastern Aegean, and perhaps Asia Minor in book 11 (F 11 K).

The most important of these details for the investigation of the structure of the poem are (iii) and (iv). The quest for the cattle of Geryon is traditionally one of the last labours undertaken by Herakles (cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 5. 10; Diod. 4. 17 ff.; *Tab. Albana FGrHist* 40 F 1c), and if, as seems certain, Panyassis described it by book 5,[2] his account of the labours is likely to have come to an end by book 6 or 7.[3] That is merely halfway through the poem, and the

[2] Earlier commentators, e.g. Müller (1, 532) read πρώτῳ in F 7 K and thought that Panyassis treated all the labours in his first book.

[3] Some scholars, e.g. Müller, 1, 499, note, and Lesky, *History of Greek Literature* 107, have suggested that the *twelve* labours are an Alexandrian fiction, but a recently discovered poem by Pindar (*P. Oxy.* no. 2450) provides us with literary evidence for the twelve labour cycle as early as Panyassis himself (if "twelfth" is correctly supplied in the Pindar fragment). See C. Pavese, "The New Heracles Poem of Pindar", *HSCP* 72 (1967), 81-4, 86-7. Another early but non-literary source for the twelve labours is the temple of Zeus at Olympia, on the twelve metopes of which the labours are represented (Paus. 5. 10). The metopes are dated by G. M. A. Richter, *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* (Oxford 1930), 40, to ca. 465-457, close to the *floruit*

rest of it seems to have consisted of accounts of the subsidiary adventures of Herakles, or *erga*, which, in Panyassis, took Herakles beyond the normal confines of the Greek world. The only reference to a late book, book 11 (F 11 K), is concerned with adventures in the south-eastern Aegean and may be linked with F 17 K and/or F 18 K which deal, respectively, with Omphale and the sons of Tremiles. It should not surprise us that Panyassis passed over the labours relatively quickly, for his poem was about Herakles, not about the labours of Herakles. There can be no doubt that the description of *erga* provided greater scope for an imaginative poet, who could introduce his hero to lesser-known and more remote persons and regions (e.g., Bousiris, Omphale, Tremiles). This would be particularly true once the labours had become traditional when descriptions of them would not vary much.

It is difficult to make any worthwhile conjectures about the order of the labours and *erga* in Panyassis' poem, and I think it best, in attempting to establish an order for the fragments, to preserve that of Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2. 4. 5-7) at least in those fragments which refer to a known episode.[4] As a result, we obtain the following table:

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of Panyassis. The order of the labours as depicted on the metopes differs from that given by Apollodoros *Bibl.* 2. 5, by Diodoros 4. 2, 1 f., and by the *Tabula Albana* (*FGrHist* 40 F 1c), and can hardly be taken as canonical. More likely, the sequence on the temple of Zeus was a deliberate arrangement on the part of the authorities at Olympia. See the discussion by R. Ross Holloway, "Panhellenism in the Sculptures of the Zeus Temple at Olympia", *GRBS* 8. 2 (1967), 93-101, especially 99 f., and also C. H. Morgan, "The Sculptures of the Hephaisteion. I", *Hesperia* 31 (1962), 216-17. Huxley (101) has suggested that the Rhodian Peisandros may have been the first to make the number twelve for the labours canonical. He refers to an inscription in hendecasyllables on a Rhodian statue of the poet (Theok. *Ep.* 22; see A. S. F. Gow (*Theocritus*[2] [Cambridge 1952, repr. 1965] 2, 546). The inscription says that Peisandros described Herakles "and all the tasks he laboured to fulfil", but this is hardly conclusive evidence that Peisandros treated all twelve labours.

[4] M. van der Valk, "On Apollodori *Bibliotheca*", *Revue des Études Grecques* 71 (1958), 100-68, argues (146-7) that the order of the labours in Diodoros and the *Tabula Albana* is preferable to that of Apollodoros. As for the *erga* he states that Apollodoros and Diodoros show a closer correspondence (147-52; 157-61) and that, where discrepancies occur, Apollodoros seems to give the older version (161-62). I have chosen to follow Apollodoros since I think that he presents the best continuous narrative of the labours and *erga*, and also because Apollodoros is the source for three fragments of Panyassis (F 19 K; 24 K; 25 K), while Diodoros never mentions the Halikarnassian, and seems to have followed Matris of Thebes (*FGrHist* 39) for the story of Herakles (see *FGrHist* I a Kommentar, 520, and *RE* 14. 2. 2296-8, s.v. Matris).

A.	1,	2,	3,	4,	5,	6,	7,	8,	9,	10,
B.	31 ?,	22,	15,	16,	1,	2,	3,	4,	5,	7,
A.	11,	12,	13,	14,	15,	16,	17,	18,	19,	20,
B.	28,	8,	10,	32 ?,	26,	9,	30,	6,	12,	13,
A.	21,	22,	23,	24,	25,	26,	27,	28,	29,	30.
B.	14,	17,	23,	33 ?,	18,	11,	20,	21,	19,	27.

Key: A. possible new numbering
B. numbering of Kinkel, extended by author
? signifies doubtful fragment

Some fragments are open to more than one interpretation (e.g., F 15 K, F 16 K, F 22 K, and F 31?) and readers are referred to the commentary on each fragment.

The suggested new order gives us the following outline of the *Herakleia* (I refer only to episodes which can be deduced from the fragments; obviously Panyassis must have given an account of other labours which are not mentioned in the fragments): Panyassis told firstly of Herakles' birth at Thebes (F 31 ?) and his early life, leading up to the murder of his children (F 22 K). Herakles then went to Delphi seeking an end to his suffering (F 15 K). He was told that he must endure a period of servitude to Eurystheus (F 16 K). He then entered the service of Eurystheus, and his first task was to slay the Nemean lion (F 1 K and F 2 K). The second labour was the slaying of the Lernaian hydra (F 3 K). The next labour of which we know from the extant fragments was the capture of the Erymanthian boar, during which episode Herakles was entertained by the centaur Pholos (F 4 K and F 5 K). The next recorded labour was the quest for the cattle of Geryon on the island of Erytheia to which Herakles sailed in the cup of the Sun (F 7 K and F 28). On the return journey, he called at Sicily, where there were cattle of the Sun (F 8 K). The next labour of which we hear is the expedition for the golden apples of the Hesperides (F 10 K and F 32 ?), which took Herakles to the far west. On his way back, he encountered Bousiris in Egypt (F 26 K) and may have gone on to free Prometheus. The last labour was the bringing of Kerberos from the underworld, where Herakles freed Theseus (F 9 K) and perhaps fought with Plouton (F 6 K and F 21 K). After the labours, Herakles took part in an archery competition at the house of Eurytos, king of Oichalia, where he was entertained at a banquet from which he was ejected (F 12 K, F 13 K, and F 14 K). He later killed

Eurytos' son, Iphitos, and had to suffer servitude under Omphale, queen of Lydia (F 17 K). He had adventures in Asia Minor (F 11 K; F 18 K, the sons of Tremiles). On returning to Greece, he sacked Pylos because the Pylians had refused to cleanse him of the blood of Iphitos. In the fight he wounded Hera (F 20 K and F 21 K). He then fought against Hippokoon and his sons and restored Tyndareos to the throne of Lakedaimon (F 19 K). The last episode which can be ascribed to Panyassis is the sack of Oichalia, when Herakles took his revenge on Eurytos (F 27).

We may wonder why a fifth-century poet like Panyassis composed an epic about Herakles and it is surprising that the man who wrote about the Ionian migrations also extolled a Dorian hero. Our thoughts on the matter can be merely speculative but certain considerations do present themselves.

Panyassis' native city, Halikarnassos, was originally colonized by Dorians from Troizen (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἁλικαρνασσός) and had once belonged to the Triopian league (Hdt. 1. 144). It is possible that amid the substantial Ionian and Karian elements in the city some Dorian traditions lingered. Moreover, Halikarnassos was not far from Rhodes and the influence of the Rhodian epic tradition must have been considerable. The importance of Herakles in this tradition is shown by the *Herakleia* of Peisandros and, in some cases, Panyassis may have followed his Rhodian predecessor (see F 7 K, on the adventures of Herakles in the West, cf. Huxley, 101; F 18 K, for adventures in Lykia). However, just as significant as either of these considerations may be the poet's stay on Samos. As I argue in my discussion of the *Ionika* (Section b iii, below), I believe that the *Herakleia* was the second of Panyassis' two known poems. Panyassis' mastery of traditional epic language and the general style of his poetry (see especially commentary on F 12 K, F 13 K, and F 14 K) indicates that the *Herakleia* was the work of a mature poet. As such, it could surely have been written during his stay on Samos when he undoubtedly had plenty of time for composition. Samos, too, had its epic traditions, including the early poets Kreophylos and Asios and, in the fifth century, Choirilos.[5] Kreophylos wrote about Herakles, and his work was known to Panyassis who may have followed it in his description of the sack of Oichalia (see commentary on F 27). Moreover, the most important deity in the island was Hera, to whom was built the greatest temple which Herodotos had seen

[5] See Kinkel, 60-2 (Kreophylos); 202-5 (Asios); 265-72 (Choirilos).

(Hdt. 3. 60), and she recalls not only Herakles and his valiant deeds but also the adjective ἡροφανής applied to Panyassis in the memorial inscription. Reference may also be made to Kallimachos F 101 Pfeiffer which mentions the Herakleian lion's skin at the feet of Hera's cult statue at Samos. Thus it is possible that the story of Herakles was celebrated in Samos. The political climate, too, may be reflected in Panyassis' choice of subject. As we have seen in Chapter I, Halikarnassos may have been a member of the Delian Confederacy even when under the tyranny of Lygdamis, so that Panyassis, the opponent of Lygdamis, may have expressed his dissatisfaction with the Athenian acceptance of the tyranny by composing a poem about a Dorian hero. Also, if, as I have suggested (see Chapter I, Section 5), Panyassis supported the oligarchic revolution in Samos in 453, we can again discern anti-Athenian sentiments in his action. There is no conclusive evidence to confirm these speculations, but if the *Herakleia* was composed in Samos shortly before Panyassis' ill-fated return to Halikarnassos, therein may lie one explanation for the fact that he does not seem to have become a widely-acknowledged poet until the time of Antimachos (see Section 2, below).

(b) The *Ionika* [6]

The reader may have noticed that I have not included all the fragments of Panyassis in the table of fragments of the *Herakleia*. This is because I think that the remainder can be referred to the *Ionika*, namely F 24 K, F 25 K, and F 29. For the *Ionika*, we have only the authority of the *Suda*, which tells us three things: (i) the metre of the poem —ἐν πενταμέτρῳ, (ii) the number of lines—7,000, (iii) the subject matter—it was about Kodros, Neleus, and the Ionian colonies.

(i) One might think that ἐν πενταμέτρῳ means that the poem was written in single pentameters, as was thought by some early scholars (see Tzschirner, 32), but no long poem entirely in pentameters survives and 7,000 lines in the metre is unthinkable. The usual solution is that ἐν πενταμέτρῳ means in elegiacs.[7] This point

[6] For discussion of the *Ionika* see Tzschirner, 31 f., and Schmid, 36-43.

[7] See Murray, *History of Ancient Greek Literature*, 70; Schmid-Stählin, *GGL* 1. 1, 298, note 5; Rose, *Handbook of Greek Literature*⁴, 315; C. M. Bowra in *OCD*², s.v. Elegaic Poetry, and in *On Greek Margins* (Oxford 1970), Chapt. 10 "Xenophanes on the Luxury of Colophon", 120 (a slightly altered version of "Xenophanes, fragment 3" *CQ* 40 [1946] 119-26); Schmid, 40; Huxley, 186.

was first argued in detail by Tzschirner (34) who cites Schol. Hephaist. 11 (ed. T. Gaisford [Oxford 1810], 186): τὸ δὲ ἐλεγεῖον μέτρον, τινὲς μὲν πεντάμετρον αὐτό φασιν εἶναι κ.τ.λ. Other evidence is provided by Pollux *Onom.* 4. 7. 32 (cited by Tzschirner) ἔπη, ἡρώεια, ἑξάμετρα, ῥαψῳδία· ἐλεγεῖα, πεντάμετρα κ.τ.λ. As Tzschirner admits, this use of πεντάμετρον is quite rare, but it should not be doubted, as it is by Krausse (64). The fact that some people equated τὸ ἐλεγεῖον and πεντάμετρον surely permits us to translate ἐν πενταμέτρῳ as "in elegiacs". Therefore, items (i) and (ii) "In elegiacs, in 7,000 lines" may well mean that the *Ionika* was a poem in 3,500 distichs.

Krausse (64) doubts whether there was such a poem at all and says that not even the smallest fragment exists from it. He reports that Funcke held the same opinion, but most scholars have followed Müller (1, 535) in referring F 24 K (13 and 14 Tzschirner) and F 25 K (22 Tzschirner) to the *Ionika*,[8] and Dübner (19) suggested that F 26 K (12 Tzschirner) might be added. While it is true that there are grounds for referring F 24 K and the more recently discovered F 29 to the *Herakleia*, I think that they should be attributed to the *Ionika*. As for F 25 K, the evidence for referring it to the *Herakleia* rather than the *Ionika* is very slim (see commentary on those fragments). Certainly, there is little reason for adopting Krausse's extreme position (64) that the *Ionika* is the work of a forger.[9]

(iii) The subject-matter of the poem is no indication that it could not have been written in elegiacs. Elegiac poetry undoubtedly developed out of epic, and there is no reason why elegiac poets should not have dealt with similar subjects to epic poets (e.g., wars, battles, and civil strife; see Tzschirner, 35 and Schmid, 40). The poems of the principal elegiac writers—Archilochos, Kallinos, and Tyrtaios—are concerned particularly with contemporary events, but Mimnermos clearly links the past with the present when he writes of the Ionian capture of Smyrna (F 2 Diehl [2]). Moreover, Mimnermos displays heroic spirit in his elegies, not only in the latter

[8] E.g. Schmid-Stählin, *GGL* 1. 1, 298, note 5; Schmid, 40.

[9] Cf. O. Crusius, "Lobon und seine Verwandten", *Philologus* 80 (1925), 178-80, who adopts an equally extreme position. Jacoby, *Atthis*: *The Local Chronicles of Ancient Athens* (Oxford 1949), 363, note 62, says that he does not know whether the suggestion that Lobon was the author of the *Suda* statement is justified, but adds that it is remarkable that such a voluminous poem is never cited. In an earlier study ("Some Remarks on Ion of Chios", *CQ* 41 [1947], 4, note 6), he does not seem to doubt that the *Ionika* was genuine (and that it was in elegiacs). Both Stoessl (920) and Schmid (37 f.) accept the authenticity of the poem.

fragment, but also in his account of the war of the Smyrnaians against the Lydians (F 13 Diehl [2]). This shows not only that elegy could be akin to epic in its subjects, but also that an elegiac poem could be historical.[10]

The title of Panyassis' poem does not suggest that it included events nearer to his own time, but it is possible that the Ionian Revolt of 499 and the subsequent struggles against the Persians inspired him to write a historical poem on the origins of the Ionian Greeks.[11] It could have been published shortly after τὰ Περσικά,[12] around the time of the foundation of the Delian Confederacy (ca. 477).[13] This may explain the apparent emphasis on the Athenian origin of the colonists in Panyassis' poem (e.g., Kodros). Such a date may suggest that the poem was the work of an enthusiastic young poet as yet inexpert in his art, which could be one reason for its failure to survive (see Tzschirner, 32). There is at least some indication that it was composed before the *Herakleia*. This is found in the *Suda* notice: ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Ἡρακλειάδα . . . , Ἰωνικὰ . . . . The difficulty presented by δὲ καὶ is neatly solved by a transposition as follows: ἔγραψε δὲ Ἰωνικὰ . . . , καὶ Ἡρακλείαδα . . .. The explanation may be that the source for the *Suda* article placed the *Ionika* first, as the earlier poem, but the compiler of the *Suda* changed the order

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[10] See Bowra, *Early Greek Elegists*, 28-30, and also *On Greek Margins* (see above, note 7) 120, where he refers as well to the elegiacs of Semonides of Amorgos on the history of Samos and suggests that Xenophanes may have composed similar historical poems.

[11] Another possibility is that Panyassis was influenced by Neleid traditions surviving in Karia. Parthenios (14. 1) tells of a young Halikarnassian of royal blood called Antheus, who was taken as a hostage by Phobios, one of the Neleids who then ruled Miletos. Phobios' wife fell in love with the youth, who rejected her advances, and in revenge she devised a scheme whereby she killed him in a well by pushing a stone down on him. Parthenios goes on to give another version of the story by Alexandros of Aitolia (F 3 Powell), who said that the boy came from Assesos (line 5), a city in the Milesian territory (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀσσησσός). However, the connection with Halikarnassos is perhaps more probable, since the name Antheus is similar to Anthes, the reputed Troizenian founder of Halikarnassos (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἁλικαρνασσός), and the boy is said to be ἐκ βασιλείου γένους. This erotic story may well have been known to Panyassis, a poet who included the tale of the incestuous origin of Adonis (F 25 K). A further reference to Neleids in Karia (Iasos) is found in Polybios (16. 12. 2).

[12] This could have been one reason for dating Panyassis to the time of the Persian Wars.

[13] Aristotle (*Ath. Pol.* 23. 5) puts it "in the third year after Salamis"; Diodoros (11. 44. 6) states that it took place in the archonship of Adeimantos (477/6).

because the *Herakleia* was the better-known poem. The description given in the *Suda*, ἔστι δὲ τὰ περὶ Κόδρον καὶ Νηλέα καὶ τὰς Ἰωνικὰς ἀποικίας, seems to indicate that Panyassis placed his starting-point well before the actual emigration to Ionia and included the story of the death of Kodros, the strife between Medon and Neleus, resulting in the latter's emigration to Ionia, and then the Ionian colonization, under the leadership of Neleus.[14]

We have some evidence that works on the Ionian migration and colonies were popular in the first half of the fifth century. The tradition of the foundation of the Ionian colonies from Attika may go back as far as Solon, who refers to Athens as πρεσβυτάτην . . . γαῖαν Ἰαονίας (F 4. 2 Diehl [2]).[15] Herodotos (5. 97) makes Aristagoras of Miletos use the tradition as a reason why Athens should assist the Ionian Revolt in 499. Pherekydes, who could well have been writing around this time,[16] dealt with the settlement of Ionia by the sons of Kodros.[17] Another early writer was Kadmos of Miletos (*Suda* s.v. Κάδμος Πανδίονος = *FGrHist* 489 T 1b), who wrote κτίσις Μιλήτου καὶ τῆς ὅλης Ἰωνίας ἐν βιβλίοις δ'.[18] The tradition of the Athenian origin of the Ionians was one of the justifications for the founding of the Delian Confederacy.[19]

Of the fragments of Panyassis, only F 24 K, F 25 K, and F 29 can, in my opinion, be attributed to the *Ionika*. Of these, F 24 K is

[14] Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4 F 125) tells of the death of Kodros and of the foundation of the Ionian Dodekapolis by Neleus. In F 48 he again mentions Neleus as a founder of Ionian cities, and Herodotos (9. 97) knew him as the founder of Miletos. Both writers may have been drawing on Panyassis (Schmid, 37 and Stoessl, 920). Cf. *Marmor Parium FGrHist* 239 A 27. For the strife between the brothers see Paus. 7. 2. 1 and the commentary on F 29.

[15] See J. P. Barron, "Milesian Politics and Athenian Propaganda", *JHS* 82 (1962), 6, note 40.

[16] Jacoby, *Mnemosyne* 13[3] (1947), 33 (= *Abhandl. z. griech. Geschichtschreib.*, 116) dates the publication of his work to between 508/7 and 476/5. G. L. Huxley, "The Date of Pherekydes of Athens", *GRBS* 14. 2 (1973), 137-143, argues for a Kimonian date, which would be close to the *floruit* of Panyassis.

[17] See e.g. 3 F 102; 142; 154; 155. It is probable that more of Strabo's account (14. 1. 3 f.) should be referred to Pherekydes than Jacoby attributes to him in F 155.

[18] Kadmos is a shadowy figure, but Jacoby may be wrong in rejecting the work on the foundation of Miletos and Ionia as a late forgery, perhaps by Bion of Prokonnesos (*FGrHist* IIIb Kommentar [1955], 403). In two earlier studies (*RE* 10. 2 [1919]. 1473 s.v. Kadmos no. 6, and *Atthis*, 359, note 30), he is sceptical but does not reject Kadmos outright.

[19] Thuk. 1. 95. 1 κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενές. See J. P. Barron, "Religious Propaganda of the Delian League", *JHS* 84 (1964), 46, where he also refers to Panyassis.

probably part of an account of the establishment of the Thesmophoria festival, and F 25 K is connected with the foundation of Smyrna (see Schmid, 40-3). F 29 (about strife) perhaps came in an account of the origins of the migration or of a dispute between colonists. It is possible that Herodotos' account of the Ionians (1. 142-150) owes something to Panyassis' poem, but nothing can be stated with any degree of probability. Barron suggests that Herodotos 1. 146 may be an attack on Panyassis' account, but admits that the historian may be attacking Pherekydes, not Panyassis.[20] Another passage of Herodotos (9. 97), which mentions a temple of Eleusinian Demeter, could have been drawn from Panyassis (see commentary on F 24 K).

What can be the reasons (apart from the possibility that it was a poor poem) for the fact that only the *Suda* mentions the *Ionika*, and that there are so few fragments which can be attributed to it? Firstly, if we examine the sources for the fragments of the *Herakleia*, we can see that they fall into several rather similar groups: (i) writers on pagan gods, e.g., Clement of Alexandria, Arnobius; (ii) writers on food and banquets, e.g., Athenaios, Stobaios; (iii) lexicographers, e.g., Stephanos of Byzantion, Hesychios, *Etym. Magn.*, *Etym. Gen.*; (iv) mythological compilers, e.g., Apollodoros, Hyginus and, to a lesser extent, Pausanias and the scholiasts to Homer, Apollonios, and Pindar; (v) astronomical writers, e.g., Eratosthenes, Avienus, and Schol. Germ. *Arat.* Of these authors only groups (iii) and (iv) are likely to be interested in the *Ionika*, and of the three fragments which, in my opinion, may come from the poem, two (F 24 K and F 25 K) are given by Apollodoros and the other (F 29) by *Etym. Gen.* Secondly, most works on mythology and the Ionian migration were in prose and it is likely that writers who were interested in the subjects would read and cite these prose works, rather than the poem of Panyassis as, for example, Apollodoros and Strabo use Pherekydes, and Stephanos draws on Hekataios, Hellanikos, and other prose writers subsequent to Panyassis.[21] Since many of the early prose writers themselves have been lost, it is not to be wondered at that Panyassis' elegiac poem should also

[20] *JHS* 84 (1964), 46, note 65.

[21] Dr. J. P. Barron has drawn my attention to an example of a late writer preferring prose sources to verse ones: Plutarch who, for his *Theseus*, prefers Atthidographers throughout (e.g. Philochoros, cf. *Thes.* 14. 3; 16. 1; 17. 6; 26. 1; 29. 4; 35. 2) to epic poets, and only once refers to a *Theseis* (28. 1) and then in a disparaging manner.

have perished. It would be surprising if a considerable quantity of it had survived.

2. The Reputation of Panyassis in Antiquity

There is no doubt that Panyassis was known primarily as an epic poet (T 1a; T 7; T 9; T 10; T 11; T 12). According to the *Suda*, he revived the dying epic. This statement expresses an opinion that there was no outstanding epic poet between Panyassis and his predecessor Peisandros. It is true that the poet Pigres may have been a brother of Artemisia (*Suda* s.v. Πίγρης) and thus slightly earlier than Panyassis, but the poems ascribed to him, the *Margites*, the *Batrachomyomachia*, and a poem created by inserting pentameters into the *Iliad* (*Suda* s.v. Πίγρης; Plut. *De Hdt. Malig.* 43) are perhaps indicative of the decadent epic, which Panyassis is said to have restored to life.[22]

There survive several ancient lists which rank the five outstanding epic poets (T 10a, b, c, d, e).[23] Of these lists, 10a is clearly in simple chronological order and no significance can be attached to it.[24] In 10b, Hesiod is obviously mentioned last since he is the poet with whom Io. Tzetzes is there particularly concerned,[25] but this does not affect the order of the others. In the lists the position of Homer alone is constant. The position of Panyassis varies from second to fourth, the extremes exactly reflecting the two opinions expressed in the *Suda*. It is notable that the *Suda* names only four poets, and this is also the case in the discussions of Dionysios of Halikarnassos (T 11) and Quintilian (T 12). Severyns (1. 2, 85) uses the evidence of

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[22] Alternatively, Pigres may be a poet of the fourth century. There seems to be confusion in the *Suda* s.v. Πίγρης concerning Artemisia, who is described as τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις διαφανοῦς, Μαυσώλου γυναικός, where the first phrase refers to the Artemisia who distinguished herself in the Persian War, the mother of Pisindelis, and the second to Artemisia, wife of the fourth-century tyrant Mausolos (see *RE* 2. 2. 1441, s.v. Artemisia no. 2). For the possibility that Pigres was the brother of the later Artemisia, it is noteworthy that the *testimonia* for the *Margites* (see Allen, 152-6) begin and become frequent only from the second half of the fourth century. The only serious evidence for the *Margites* as an early poem is an alleged allusion by Archilochos (F 153, 430 Bergk[4] = Eustratius in Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 6. 7), which is by no means certain (see Allen, 156, *app. crit.*). The *Batrachomyomachia* may well be Hellenistic. On Pigres, see also Huxley, 188.

[23] Cf. Tzschirner, 23-4; Krausse, 68.

[24] A. Severyns, *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclos* 1. 2 (Liége and Paris 1938), 84.

[25] Ibid., note.

Quintilian to prove that Peisandros was not in the Alexandrian epic canon. Quintilian, after discussing Homer, Hesiod, Antimachos, and Panyassis in succession (10. 1. 46-54), explains why he does not mention Apollonios Rhodios: "Apollonius in ordinem a grammaticis datum non venit, quia Aristarchus atque Aristophanes, poetarum iudices, neminem sui temporis in numerum redegerunt; non tamen contemnendum edidit opus aequali quadam mediocritate." After discussing Aratos and Theokritos (55), he says (56), "audire videor undique congerentes nomina plurimorum poetarum. quid? Herculis acta non bene Pisandros?" The remarks of Quintilian suggest that Peisandros was not in the canon, and Severyns concludes that the list of four poets (given by Dionysios, Quintilian, and *Suda*), excluding Peisandros, is more ancient and more traditional than the one given by Proklos and the other sources. In fact manuscript M of Proklos *Chrestom.* 15 does not include Peisandros and Severyns doubts whether the omission was accidental (1. 1, 188-9).

The discussions of Dionysios (T 11) and Quintilian (T 12) are clearly more important than the bare lists of the grammarians. There is evidently great similarity in their respective opinions, which imply that Panyassis was regarded as combining certain features of Hesiod and Antimachos. The evidence of the fragments supports this opinion; for example, in much of his vocabulary, Panyassis is closer to Hesiod, using simple traditional words and a large number of names. But he also shows an Antimachean liking for rare words.[26] There must have been other similarities in view of the story that Antimachos was Panyassis' pupil. Both Dionysios and Quintilian discuss Panyassis third after Hesiod and Antimachos. According to Quintilian, Panyassis surpassed Hesiod in his subject matter and Antimachos in his arrangement, but was inferior to both in style. However, Dionysios says nothing about the superiority of Hesiod and Antimachos in style and goes on to tell how Panyassis excelled each of them. This surely indicates that Quintilian ranked Panyassis after Hesiod and Antimachos, but that Dionysios placed him ahead of them; that is, the two writers display the same two differing opinions about Panyassis which we find in the *Suda* (cf. Krausse, 67-8).

There is thus no apparent disagreement about the virtues of Panyassis' poetry but only about the estimation of them. However,

[26] E.g. μενθῆραι (F 12 K. 16); θῆσαι (F 16 K. 3); βηλά (F 23 K); πέμματα, νοσσάδας (F 26 K); μῦθος (F 29).

the poetry of Panyassis, like that of Peisandros and Antimachos, has perished, all but a few fragments. Why should this have been? One reason may be that Panyassis, like Antimachos, employed an unusual vocabulary, which did not make him an easy author to read.[27] We may well imagine that, since Panyassis combined the virtues of Hesiod and Antimachos, people would read either Hesiod or Antimachos and neglect Panyassis. Moreover, there were several poems about Herakles besides that of Panyassis [28] and some readers may have preferred something shorter than Panyassis' version. The poetry of Rhianos was made popular by Tiberius (Suet. *Tib.* 70. 2), and the Cretan's *Herakleia* may have helped displace that of Panyassis.

Although Panyassis must have been read in the fifth century, he does not seem to have been really popular, since no writer of that period mentions him, not even Herodotos. The earliest indication of Panyassis' reputation as an epic poet would seem to be the story of his being the teacher of Antimachos. This story may be a Hellenistic invention, but, at its earliest, it could date from the lifetime of Antimachos himself, who may have been charged by contemporary critics with following too closely the model of Panyassis. Indeed, Panyassis cannot have been famous much before that time, or else people could not have made the mistake of dating his *floruit* to the time of the Peloponnesian War. These considerations suggest that Panyassis received the fame of being a great poet long after his death. We can well imagine that an epic poem about Herakles was not ideally suited to the age of growing Athenian imperialism when Panyassis wrote. The attention of men was attracted more by the magnitude of recent events, especially the Persian Wars. Choirilos of Samos realized this and composed a contemporary epic about the victory of the Athenians over Xerxes (*Suda* s.v. Χοιρίλος no. 595). Clearly, Panyassis and Choirilos stood well apart in their ideas about epic poetry. While Choirilos experimented with modern subjects, Panyassis revived the old epic.[29] Hence, when Choirilos' reputation stood high, that of Panyassis was probably low (cf. Krausse, 72). Choirilos was very popular in the time of Plato, whose

[27] The very name of Antimachos was unknown to many, before Hadrian reintroduced him in place of Homer (Dio Cass. 69. 4. 6). Cf. Krausse, 68-9.

[28] See Kinkel, 212-14, and Powell, 10-11.

[29] Cf. G. Karl Galinsky (*The Herakles Theme* [Totowa, N.J. 1972], 25), who refers to Panyassis' poem as "an attempt even if humorous, to re-create the Herakles of the folktale in total disregard of a changed intellectual climate".

preference for Antimachos was against the judgement of most critics. Even Kallimachos and Douris in later times disagreed with Plato.[30] Since the poetry of Panyassis was akin to that of Antimachos, we can be sure that Choirilos would have been preferred to Panyassis by most people. But the very fact that Antimachos imitated Panyassis and made him his model shows that the Halikarnassian must have been recognized by some as a meritorious poet. Another, later indication of Panyassis' reputation is the fact that Douris claimed him as a Samian. The reception of Panyassis into the epic canon, rather than signifying his general popularity, may merely indicate that he was a poet who appealed to scholars and critics. (It is notable that Choirilos, who was generally popular, was not received into the epic canon.) This would not be surprising in view of his style, which must have been often recherché in the manner of Antimachos and full of unusual words.[31]

We can trace the diminishing fame of Panyassis from the time of Dionysios, who offers the opinion that Panyassis excelled Hesiod and Antimachos. Less than a century later Quintilian prefers to rank Panyassis after the other two poets (this, of course, may reflect a purely personal preference and we should not forget that Dionysios was a Halikarnassian). Most of the sources for the fragments of Panyassis are grammarians or kindred writers. The growing obscurity of Panyassis even by A.D. 150 can be discerned from Pausanias (T 4), who mentions the poet but states, in explanation, that he was the son of Polyarchos and wrote a poem about Herakles. This information would not have been necessary had Panyassis been well-known at that time (cf. Krausse, 69-70). It is true that Athenaios around A.D. 200 names Panyassis six times, but it is likely that he used him as a mere source book, although he may have consulted him at first-hand, unlike Stobaios some two hundred years later, who probably culled his information from earlier collections. Arnobius (*Adv. Gentes* 4. 25 = F 21 K) follows Clement of Alexandria (cf. F 6 K and F 20 K with F 21 K), and it is likely that Clement drew much of his material from the works of grammarians and scholiasts. Therefore the several references to Panyassis

[30] See Proklos ad *Tim.* 1. 28c (ed. E. Diehl [Leipzig 1903], 1, 90). Cf. Krausse, 72.

[31] For unusual words see note 26 above. For apparent unevenness in technique see e.g. F 18 K and F 28. Galinsky (*The Herakles Theme*, 24) states that Panyassis anticipated Hellenistic poetic practice and adds "Whether his epic was truly popular is another question".

by Clement are not a sure indication of the poet's popularity after A.D. 300, though we need not doubt that, at Alexandria, the *Herakleia* survived in its entirety until Clement's day. Although Avienus in the fifth century after Christ seems to have read the *Herakleia* (T 5; F 10 K),[32] Macrobius is clearly not familiar with Panyassis, when he adds the facile remark "egregius scriptor Graecorum" (T 13). In fact the manuscript readings here are *Pimastis* and *Paniastis*, which are easily corrected since Athenaios (11. 469d) tells the same story, ascribing it to Panyassis (F 7 K). Whether Macrobius himself was responsible for the error or whether the corruption already existed in his source or was the fault of a later copyist, the man who added "egregius scriptor Graecorum" after Pimastis was clearly not well informed. A man who could not correct the name in a context about Herakles can hardly have known Panyassis as the famous author of a *Herakleia* (cf. Krausse, 70, note 3).

The reputation of Panyassis extended, therefore, over the period from 450 B.C. to about A.D. 400, with his poetry becoming more and more the province of the grammarian, the literary critic, and the polymath, and less and less read by the general public.[33]

3. Notes on Metre

Out of the wreckage of Panyassis' two long poems, only sixty-one lines survive.[34] All the extant lines are hexameters, although it is possible that F 29 belongs to the elegiac poem, the *Ionika* (see commentary on that fragment).

With a mere sixty lines out of a 9,000 line poem as our evidence, it is perhaps risky to state any definite conclusions about Panyassis' use of the hexametric verse form, but some statistics may be suggestive and may invite comparison with the metrics of Homer.

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[32] Krausse (47-8; 70) claims otherwise (cf. Chapter I, note 49 above). But Avienus may have greater knowledge of Panyassis than Krausse allows. Certainly his claim that everything which Avienus says is found in Schol. Arat. is not true. See commentary on F 10 K.

[33] A possible explanation for the loss of Panyassis' work may be the transference of ancient literature from the roll form to the codex, which began in the fourth century after Christ. Authors survived or perished according to the value placed on them in this period. The works of Panyassis may have been allowed to decay in the roll form and thus ceased to exist. See F. W. Hall, *A Companion to Classical Texts* (Oxford 1913, repr. Chicago 1970), 18.

[34] Without dubious F 32 there are actually sixty complete hexameters and the first four feet of F 13. 15.

The sixty complete lines display fifteen different forms of the hexameter, out of the thirty-two possible, while the incomplete F 13 K. 15 may conceal another.[35] The forms found in the fragments of Panyassis are as follows (in descending order of frequency, with Rupprecht number [36] and Panyassian references in brackets):

– – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏓
(no. 2: fourteen examples—F 4 K. 2; F 12 K. 2; 5; 10; 12; 14; 17; 18; F 13 K. 1; 2; 5; 8; 14; F 15 K. 1.)

– ⏑ ⏑ | – – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏓
(no. 3: eight examples—F 5 K. 1; F 12 K. 1; F 13 K. 4; 10; 13; F 28. 1; F 30. 1; and probably F 13 K. 15.)

– ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏓
(no. 1: seven examples—F 12 K. 6; F 13 K. 3; F 15 K. 2; F 16 K. 4; F 18 K. 1; F 28. 2; F 29. 1.)

– – | – – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏓
(no. 23: five examples—F 12 K. 4; 9; 19; F 14 K. 1; 6.)

– ⏑ ⏑ | – – | – – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏓
(no. 24: five examples—F 12 K. 7; 11; 16; F 16 K. 2; 3.)

– ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏓
(no. 4: four examples—F 12 K. 13; F 13 K. 6; 12; F 26 K.)

– ⏑ ⏑ | – – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏓
(no. 30: four examples—F 4 K. 1; F 13 K. 7; 11; F 14 K. 2.)

– ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏓
(no. 5: three examples—F 12 K. 3; F 13 K. 9; F 14 K. 5.)

– – | – – | – – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏓
(no. 16: two examples—F 14 K. 3; F 16 K. 1.)

– ⏑ ⏑ | – – | – – | – – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏓
(no. 19: two examples—F 1 K; F 18 K. 4.)

– ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – – | – – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏓
(no. 25: two examples—F 12 K. 15; F 18 K. 5.)

– – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏓
(no. 28: two examples—F 12 K. 8; F 14 K. 4.)

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[35] The thirty-two forms are conveniently listed by K. Rupprecht, *Einführung in die griechische Metrik* (Munich 1950), 16-18, who assigns a number to each.

[36] See note 35.

– ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – – | – ⏓
(no. 6—F 18 K. 3.)

– – | – – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏓
(no. 22—F 2 K.)

– – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏓
(no. 27—F 18 K. 2.)

– ⏑ ⏑ | – – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – – | – ⏓
(no. 31—perhaps F 13 K. 15.)

The forty lines of fragments 12, 13, and 14 obviously belong closely together in Panyassis' narrative (see commentary thereon), and thus it may be more accurate to compare them with forty-line passages of Homer than to treat the whole sixty-one hexameters as a unit.

Taking two random passages in the *Iliad* (13. 1-40, and 24. 1-40), we find that the forty lines contain respectively fifteen and thirteen different forms of the hexameter, as against eleven in the forty lines of Panyassis, indicating perhaps that the Halikarnassian writer was a little less flexible than the Homeric poet in his use of the hexameter. In *Iliad* 13. 1-40 the commonest hexametric forms are: no. 1: ten examples; no. 2: seven; no. 3: four; no. 5: four; nos. 6 and 23: three; and in *Iliad* 24. 1-40: no. 3: nine examples; no. 4: seven; no. 2: five; nos. 1 and 23: four; nos. 5, 27, and 28: two. These results may be compared with the figures for the entire first book of the *Iliad* [37] where the commonest hexameter forms are (I cite the Rupprecht number): no. 1: 120; no. 2: 98; no. 3: 96; no. 5: 51; no. 23: 48; no. 30: 39; no. 28: 31; no. 4: 25. A correlation of all these statistics indicates that the hexameter forms most common in *Iliad* 1; 13. 1-40, and 24. 1-40, are nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 23, 28, and 30. In the forty lines of fragments 12, 13 and 14 of Panyassis, the distribution is as follows: no. 2: twelve examples; nos. 3 and 23: five; nos. 4, 5, 24, and 30: three; nos. 1 and 28: two; and nos. 16 and 25: one. This evidence suggests that in general Panyassis prefers the same hexameter forms as Homer, at least in his eight most common types, but that he seems to have a special liking for the form – – | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏑ ⏑ | – ⏓ (no. 2), which appears no fewer than twelve times in the forty lines.

[37] These figures are given by A. Rossbach and R. Westphal, *Griechische Metrik* (Leipzig 1856), 20 ff.

There are frequent examples in Panyassis of the common Homeric shortening of a long vowel or diphthong before a following vowel (e.g., F 12 K. 1-3, all with καί), but a more irregular feature is the apparent neglect of the digamma in F 29 (if the reconstructed text is sound). However, this too has numerous Homeric parallels (e.g., *Iliad* 16. 371; 464; 507; 523; 20. 67; 24. 449; 452).

The distribution of dactyls and spondees in the first five feet in Panyassis is as follows:

Dactyl	36	34	45	47	60 (59)*
Spondee	25	27	16	14	1 (2)*

*The fifth foot of the incomplete F 13 K. 15 may have been dactylic or spondaic.

Converted to percentages, the distribution is as follows:

Dactyl	59	56	74	77	97 (98)*
Spondee	41	44	26	23	3 (2)*

With this we may compare the percentages for the last six books of the *Iliad*, given by Leaf:[38]

Dactyl	65	61	85	72	95
Spondee	35	39	15	28	5

The Homeric figures are quite similar to those for Panyassis, but the latter seems to have slightly less preference for the dactyl in the first two feet (cf. his seeming fondness for the spondaic first foot as shown in the analysis above), even less liking for it in the third foot and a substantially greater preference for it in the fourth.[39]

In the extant lines of Panyassis the fourth foot is spondaic only fourteen times, so that it is surprising to find two prima facie

[38] See W. Leaf, *The Iliad*[2] (London 1900-1902), 2. Appendix N, 631, who takes his information from Prof. Clapp, *Homer's Iliad, Books 19-24* (Boston 1899), 428.

[39] One might also make a comparison with the table given by M. L. West, *Hesiod: "Theogony"* (Oxford 1966), 93. One feature is the comparatively high number of spondaic second and third feet in the *Erga*. West attributes this to the extensive gnomic element in the work. Panyassis too has a relatively high number of spondaic second and third feet and it is noteworthy that the three fragments which constitute the bulk of his remains, F 12-14 K, contain much material of a gnomic nature. On the other hand, Panyassis does not show the high frequency of spondaic fourth feet evident in the *Erga*.

violations of Wernicke's law; this "law" states that "when a spondaic fourth foot without caesura ends with a word, the last syllable must be long by nature, not lengthened by position."[40] Leaf says that while this rule appears to be absolute for the late epic poets, it requires certain modifications for Homer. Among the exceptions which he goes on to list are the following: [41]

Iliad 11. 189 τὸν δ' ἄλλον λαὸν ἀνώχθω
204 τὸν δ' ἄλλον λαὸν ἄνωχθι
796 ἅμα δ' ἄλλος λαὸς ἑπέσθω
16. 38 ἅμα δ' ἄλλον λαὸν ὄπασσον

It is significant that these exceptions exactly parallel the two instances in Panyassis:

F 12 K. 3 ἅμα τ' ἄλλον φῶτα κελεύῃ
8 ἅμα τ' ἄλλον λαὸν ἀνώγῃ

Concerning the Homeric examples, Leaf says that ἄλλος λαός seems to have been felt almost as a single word, and he restates Wernicke's law for Homer as follows: "Lengthening of a short vowel in the second syllable of a spondaic fourth foot by position due to a consonant in the succeeding word is never found where the foot ends with a marked break in the sense; it is extremely rare when the foot ends with a word at all, unless in the case of a monosyllable connected with the following rather than the preceding words; and it is hardly ever found where the words preceding and following the diaeresis do not form integral parts of a syntactical unit." [42]

Since the Panyassian instances are close to the Homeric examples quoted above, it seems reasonable to accept Leaf's Homeric version of Wernicke's law also for Panyassis, who is once more shown to be a poet in the Homeric tradition.

However, in the matter of the caesura Panyassis seems to differ from Homer who prefers the trochaic or feminine caesura in the third foot to the masculine; [43] but in Panyassis, thirty-two lines have the penthemimeral or masculine caesura, and only twenty-five the trochaic caesura. The other four lines have the hephthemimeral caesura, after the fourth *longa*, a proportionately larger number

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[40] Leaf, *The Iliad*[2] 2. 634.
[41] Leaf, *The Iliad*[2] 2. 637.
[42] Leaf, *The Iliad*[2] 2. 638.
[43] See D. B. Monro, *Homeric Grammar*[2] (Oxford 1891), 339.

than in the Homeric poems. Thirty-one lines of Panyassis, or just over fifty per cent, show bucolic diaeresis, compared to about sixty per cent in the Homeric poems,[44] a close correspondence for such a small sample. It must also be borne in mind that often the caesura is determined by the sense of the line (e.g., F 18 K. 1; F 4 K. 1 and 2; F 5 K. 1) and that in some of these cases another position is possible for it.

In conclusion, it must again be emphasized that the scanty remains of Panyassis' poetry make a definitive metrical study impossible, since it is possible that the possession of even another fifty of the approximately 8,940 lost lines of the *Herakleia* would give us a very different picture.

To sum up, in his metrical practice and in his observance of Wernicke's law, Panyassis would seem to be closer to Homer than to Hesiod; thus, in this too he would, as the external evidence suggests, belong to the eastern Greek tradition of epic, not to the Hesiodic schools of mainland Hellas.

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[44] See Rupprecht (note 35 above), 16.

TEXT AND COMMENTARY

FRAGMENTS 1 K AND 2 K

Text

Stephanos of Byzantion *Ethnika* s.v. Βέμβινα (ed. A. Meineke [Berlin 1849], 162), κώμη τῆς Νεμέας. Ἑλλάνικος (*FGrHist* 4 F 102) δὲ Βέμβινον καὶ πόλιν φησίν. ὁ πολίτης Βεμβινίτης ὡς Σταγειρίτης. παρὰ δὲ Ῥιανῷ (*FGrHist* 265 F 53) Βεμβινάτης. ἔοικεν οὖν [ὡς] Αἰγινάτης καὶ Αἰγινίτης κατὰ τροπήν, ὡς Πανύασις ἐν Ἡρακλείας πρώτῃ,

F 1 K

δέρμα τε θήρειον Βεμβινήταο λέοντος

καὶ ἄλλως

F 2 K

καὶ Βεμβινήταο πελώρου δέρμα λέοντος.

Commentary

Wilamowitz suggests that, in view of *Od.* 11. 634 Γοργείην κεφαλὴν δεινοῖο πελώρου, F 1 should be emended to δέρμα τε θήρειον Βεμβινήταο πελώρου, and that there is really only one hexameter.[1] He objects to the use of two adjectives with λέοντος in F 2. But Panyassis uses two adjectives with one noun elsewhere (F 4 K. 1; F 18 K. 3), and we can compare also Hesiod *Aspis* 223 κάρη δεινοῖο πελώρου Γοργοῦς. Pfeiffer does not believe that the second fragment is Panyassis and suggests that καὶ ἄλλως καὶ may refer to Kallimachos, but the fragment does not appear in his subsequent edition of Kallimachos.[2] There does not seem to be any reason to doubt that both fragments are the work of Panyassis.

Müller (1, 533), Dübner (15), and Funcke (cited by Tzschirner, 43) think that both lines refer to Herakles' clothing, but Tzschirner (43) thinks that the first fragment refers to the order of Eurystheus, that Herakles should bring the skin of the Nemean lion to him. He quotes Apollodoros *Bibl.* 2. 5. 1 πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ τοῦ

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[1] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Homerische Untersuchungen* [*Philologische Unters.* 7] (Berlin 1884), 142, note 4.

[2] R. Pfeiffer, *Philologus* 87 (1932), 210; cf. *Callimachus* ed. Pfeiffer, 1 (Oxford 1949), 2 (Oxford 1953). Huxley (200, note on 183) suggests that the second hexameter could be an imitation of Panyassis by Rhianos.

Νεμέου λέοντος τὴν δορὰν κομίζειν. While it may be a valid objection that Eurystheus in his order, presumably the first mention of the beast in the *Herakleia*, would refer to it by its usual name, Nemean, as in Apollodoros, rather than "Bembinan", it is, of course, possible that Nemea could have been mentioned in the next line, e.g., ἐκ Νεμέης κόμισαι . . . . or similar. Hence, lacking any further evidence, I think that it is impossible to assign the two lines to their context, beyond suggesting that they could refer to the order of Eurystheus or belong to a description of Herakles' clothing.[3]

The actual reason for Panyassis' mention of Bembina and its importance in the story may be found in [Theokritos] 25. 201-3:

> πάντας γὰρ πισῆας ἐπικλύζων ποταμὸς ὥς
> λὶς ἄμοτον κεραΐζε, μάλιστα δὲ Βεμβιναίους,
> οἳ ἕθεν ἀγχόμοροι ναῖον ἄτλητα παθόντες.

This poem may be indebted to Panyassis and Peisandros of Rhodes for further details about the episode of the Nemean lion but it seems impossible to trace them.[4]

One may feel that Panyassis' reference to the village of Bembina, rather than to Nemea itself, is an indication of a rather pedantic streak in the poet, or a desire to parade his geographical knowledge (cf. Huxley, 183).[5]

The episode of the lion is here attributed to the first book of the *Herakleia*, and it seems likely that Panyassis, like Peisandros (F 1 K), made it the first labour. Hellanikos' mention of the town Bembinos may indicate that he used Panyassis for his treatment of this episode but he did not always follow the Halikarnassian poet. In the description of the fight with the Lernaian hydra, Hellanikos (4 F 103) has Iolaos helping Herakles but Panyassis (F 3 K) clearly mentioned more than one ally for Herakles.

It is noteworthy that Rhianos used the adjectival form Βεμβινάτης. The Hellenistic poet also wrote a *Herakleia*, and the possibility of a

[3] It is worth noting a tradition recorded by Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2. 4. 10) that Herakles dressed himself in the skin of the lion of Kithairon and wore its scalp as a helmet (see also Pfeiffer on Kallimachos F 677); but according to other sources the Kithairon lion was killed by Alkathoos, son of Pelops (Paus. 1. 41. 3; Dieuchidas of Megara, *FGrHist* 48 F 10 = Schol. A. R. 1. 516-18c). There is no way of knowing whether Panyassis told of Herakles killing the lion of Kithairon or wearing its skin.

[4] Cf. line 277 δέρμα λέοντος. See also G. Hermann, *Opuscula* VIII (Leipzig 1877, repr. Hildesheim 1970), 316.

[5] On Bembina as a district, see Pliny *HN* 4. 20.

link with Panyassis is strengthened by *Etymologicum Magnum* 153. 4 (*FGrHist* 265 F 48) ῾Ριανὸς ἐν τῷ † τετρασδεκάτῳ ῾Ηρακλείας (τετρακαιδεκάτῳ Meineke, 176). Some scholars would change ἐν τῷ ιδ′ here to ἐν τῷ δ′ in view of *Suda* s.v. ῾Ριανός.[6] However, it is surely easier for a letter to have fallen out of the text than to have been inserted into it and we know that Rhianos wrote a *Thessalika* in *sixteen* books.[7] If we accept ιδ′, it means that Rhianos' *Herakleia* contained at least as many books as that of Panyassis, perhaps the same number. This may suggest that they were on a similar scale, and makes it more likely that Rhianos was acquainted with Panyassis' poem.[8]

Several features of Panyassis' language are paralleled in the Homeric poems. For δέρμα λέοντος in F 2, we can compare *Iliad* 10. 23 and 177, where the phrase also occurs at the end of the line (cf. McLeod, 103). Several lines show a similar word arrangement, *Iliad* 5. 741 Γοργείη κεφαλὴ δεινοῖο πελώρου, *Od.* 11. 634 Γοργείην κεφαλὴν δεινοῖο πελώρου. For the three genitives in F 2 we can compare Hesiod *Aspis* 223 κάρη δεινοῖο πελώρου Γοργοῦς and also the four datives in F 18 K. 3. Panyassis' use of the word πελώρου is parallel to that in the line of Hesiod, that is, it is the genitive of the adjective πέλωρος. In the Homeric references quoted above, it is clearly the genitive of the noun. The usual adjectival form in the Homeric poems is πελώριος (usually, but not always of persons), while πέλωρος is found only twice in Homer (*Il.* 12. 202 = 220 πέλωρον δράκοντα; *Od.* 15. 161 πέλωρον χῆνα). The noun πέλωρ (from which πέλωρος, -ιος comes) already appears in Homer referring to creatures, usually in a bad sense, as in *Od.* 9. 428 (of the Kyklops), and 12. 87 (of Skylla).

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[6] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Herakles*[2] 1 (Berlin 1895), 68, note 125; Powell, 10.

[7] See Steph. Byz. s.v. Αἰγώνεια (Powell, 15; *FGrHist* 265 F 28).

[8] See Jacoby's commentary on Rhianos *FGrHist* 265 F 47-54.

FRAGMENT 3 K

Text

(a) Eratosthenes *Katasterismoi* 11 (ed. C. Robert [Berlin 1878, repr. 1963], 88-90). Καρκίνος. Οὗτος δοκεῖ ἐν τοῖς ἄστροις τεθῆναι δι' Ἥραν, ὅτι μόνος, Ἡρακλεῖ τῶν ἄλλων συμμαχούντων ὅτε τὴν ὕδραν ἀνῄρει, ἐκ τῆς λίμνης ἐκπηδήσας ἔδακεν αὐτοῦ τὸν πόδα, καθάπερ φησὶ Πανύασις ἐν Ἡρακλείᾳ· θυμωθεὶς δ' ὁ Ἡρακλῆς δοκεῖ τῷ ποδὶ συνθλάσαι αὐτόν, ὅθεν μεγάλης τιμῆς τετύχηκε καταριθμούμενος ἐν τοῖς ιβ' ζῳδίοις.

(b) Schol. Germanicus *Aratea* BP 70. 6. Cancer in astris positus esse dicitur beneficio Iunonis, quod, cum Hercules cum hydra ad fontem Laernium depugnaret, hic cancer Herculis pedem morsu deprehendit, ut Panyasis auctor dicit. quem iratus Hercules calcatum contrivit beneficioque Iunonis magnis honoribus decoratus XII signorum numero adnumeratur.

(c) Schol. Germanicus *Aratea* G 128. 23. Cancrum namque ideo fabulae locatum inter astra aiunt, quoniam Herculem aliis auxiliantem et hydriam de fonte Lernaea auferentem saliens in pede percusserit, sicut ait Panyasis in Heraclea.

Sources (b) and (c) can be found in Robert, *Eratosthenis Catasterismorum Reliquiae*, 88-9.

Commentary

This fragment refers to Herakles' struggle with the hydra of Lerna, an episode of which we have many versions.[1]

Peisandros (F 2 K) gave the hydra many heads and may have been the first to elaborate the episode in this way. We cannot be certain from this fragment of Panyassis whether or not he followed the Rhodian in this respect, but the fact that Herakles was receiving help might suggest that he was indeed grappling with a multi-headed monster. At any rate, Panyassis was the earliest writer, as far as we know, who made the crab assist the hydra, though Peisan-

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[1] Cf. Hes. *Theog.* 313 ff.; Eur. *Her. Fur.* 419 ff.; Diod. 4. 11. 5; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 5. 2; Paus. 2. 37. 4; 5. 5. 10; 5. 17. 11; Quint. Smyrn. *Posthom.* 6. 212 ff.; Verg. *Aen.* 8. 299 ff.; Ovid. *Met.* 9. 69 ff.; Hyg. *Fab.* 30.

dros may have done so.[2] Another early poet who may have described the episode is Stesichoros, who apparently described one of Herakles' arrows as "befouled with the blood and . . . gall of the . . . hydra".[3]

The fragment presents the problem of the identity of those helping Herakles. Heyne (cited by Tzschirner, 44) proposed that the text of Eratosthenes (F 3a) is corrupt, alleging that, from the version of Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2. 5. 2) and others,[4] Iolaos was helping Herakles. His emendation Ἡρακλεῖ τοῦ Ἰολάου συμμαχοῦντος was adopted by Gale, and the idea that Iolaos is meant was also taken up by Koppiers (both cited by Kinkel, 255) who suggested τῶν περὶ Ἰόλαον συμμαχούντων. If the text of Eratosthenes is corrupt, however, the fault also exists in Schol. Arat. 147, and Favorinus s.v. Καρκῖνος and that seems rather unlikely.[5] Vogel's suggestion (cited by Tzschirner, 44) that the text refers to Iolaos and Athena seems attractive when we compare Hesiod *Theog.* 317-18:

> Ἀμφιτρυωνιάδης σὺν ἀρηϊφίλῳ Ἰολάῳ
> Ἡρακλέης βουλῇσιν Ἀθηναίης ἀγελείης.[6]

Apollodoros, in whose account Iolaos helped Herakles by cauterizing the heads of the hydra,[7] tells that this task could not be counted among the ten labours since Herakles had received help. It is possible that in the version given by Panyassis the labour may have been rendered invalid for the same reason in view of the aid given by Iolaos and Athena.

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[2] The detail of the crab already appears on a bronze fibula of the seventh century B.C. from Thebes (see Karl Schefold, *Myth and Legend in Early Greek Art* [London 1966], plate 6a and page 23; H. B. Walters, *Catalogue of the Bronzes in the British Museum* [London 1899], 373, no. 3205 and fig. 87) and on an early sixth century limestone pediment on the Athenian Akropolis (see Schefold, *Myth and Legend*, plate 54a and pages 67-8; Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, fig. 376 and pages 119-20). The fibula clearly depicts a six-headed hydra and the small figure of Iolaos seems to be attacking the monster, perhaps trying to cut it through. On the pediment, however, Iolaos appears merely to be looking after the chariot and the team.

[3] *P. Oxy.* 32. 2617, F 4, col. 2. 3 ff. and Stesichoros F 56 E, *Lyrica Graeca Selecta*, ed. D. L. Page, (Oxford 1968), 267-8.

[4] E.g. Hellanikos 4 F 103; Herodoros 31 F 23; Euripides *Ion* 194-200.

[5] Schol. Arat. 147 is quoted by C. Robert, *Eratosthenis Catasterismorum Reliquiae* (Berlin 1878, repr. 1963), 88. Favorinus is cited by Tzschirner (44) and Kinkel (255).

[6] For another reference to Athena assisting Herakles, see *Il.* 8. 362-3. In *Od.* 11. 626 she and Hermes are said to have helped Herakles capture Kerberos and return from Hades. See also West, *Hesiod*: *"Theogony"*, 254, commentary on line 318.

[7] Cf. the part played by Iolaos in Euripides *Ion* 194-200.

FRAGMENT 4 K

Text

Athenaios 11. 498d (Kaibel, 3, 99). Πανύασσις τρίτῳ Ἡρακλείας φησίν

τοῦ κεράσας κρητῆρα μέγαν χρυσοῖο φαεινὸν
σκύπφους αἰνύμενος θαμέας ποτὸν ἡδὺν ἔπινεν.

φαεινὸν MSS φαεινοῦ? Kinkel, 255
ἔπινεν MSS ἔνειμεν A. Koechly (*Opuscula Philologica* 1 ed. Kinkel [Leipzig 1881], 233 = *Coniect. Epic.* [1851] I, 14)

Commentary

Since these two hexameters on the subject of drinking are said by Athenaios to come from the third book, it seems unlikely that they are to be related to fragments 12 K, 13 K, and 14 K, which may well deal with the feast at the house of Eurytos in the episode of the sack of Oichalia, since the story of the sack would undoubtedly occur late in Panyassis' epic. A more likely occasion for these lines would be Herakles' visit to the centaur Pholos by whom he was entertained. In Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2. 5. 4), this episode precedes the capture of the Erymanthian boar, and involves the opening of the winejar and the ensuing battle with the centaurs. It is possible that Panyassis' version had the same sequence of events. Stesichoros, in his *Geryoneis*, described the banquet with Pholos, and a fragment referring to it (F 181 Page) is so reminiscent of Panyassis F 4 that it suggests that Panyassis is describing the same episode:

σκύπφειον δὲ λαβὼν δέπας ἔμμετρον ὡς
τριλάγυνον
πῖνεν ἐπισχόμενος, τό ῥά οἱ παρέ
θηκε Φόλος κεράσας. [1]

We can note the emphasis on the size of the vessel: Stesichoros calls it δέπας ἔμμετρον ὡς τριλάγυνον; Panyassis, less effectively, calls it κρητῆρα μέγαν.

[1] This fragment is also F 51 *Lyrica Graeca Selecta*. For the stichometry see *Lyrica Graeca Selecta*, 263-4.

The language of the fragment is quite traditional. For κεράσας κρητῆρα we can compare *Od.* 3. 393 and 18. 423. The normal epic form of the aorist seems to be κέρασσα, as in *Od.* 5. 93, and (middle voice) 18. 423. The -σσ- form would not be metrically suitable for Panyassis here. For κρητῆρα φαεινόν we can compare *Iliad* 3. 247, which would give some reason for rejecting Kinkel's suggestion φαεινοῦ. For αἰνύμενος there are examples in *Od.* 9. 225; 21. 53; 22. 500. The word θαμέας is characteristically Homeric (*Iliad* 10. 264; 17. 661). The suggested emendation ἔνειμεν for ἔπινεν is possible, but hardly necessary.

FRAGMENT 5 K

Text

Schol. Pindar *Pythian* 3. 177 b (ed. A. B. Drachmann [3 vols., Leipzig 1903-1927], 2 [1910], 87). ἄλλως· Θυώνῃ τῇ Σεμέλῃ· διωνυμίᾳ γὰρ ἐκέχρητο. εἰσὶν οἳ καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν Διώνην λέγουσιν, ὥσπερ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Ἀντιγόνῃ (F 177 Nauck²)·

ὦ παῖ Διώνης, ὡς ἔφυς μέγας θεός,
Διόνυσε, θνητοῖς τ' οὐδαμῶς ὑπόστατος.

ἔνιοι δὲ τὴν Θυώνην ἑτέραν τῆς Σεμέλης φασὶν εἶναι, τροφὸν τοῦ Διονύσου, ὥσπερ Πανύασις ἐν τρίτῳ Ἡρακλείας·

καί ῥ' ὁ μὲν ἐκ κόλποιο τροφοῦ θόρε ποσσὶ Θυώνης.

Commentary

The best-known reference to the name Thyone is that found in Apollodoros *Bibl.* 3. 5. 3. ὁ δὲ [i.e. Διόνυσος] ἀναγαγὼν ἐξ Ἅιδου τὴν μητέρα καὶ προσαγορεύσας Θυώνην, μετ' αὐτῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀπῆλθεν. The double name is also given in *Hom. Hymn* 1. 20-1:

. . . χαῖρε Διώνυσ' εἰραφιῶτα
σὺν μητρὶ Σεμέλῃ ἥν περ καλέουσι Θυώνην.

Panyassis, however, differs from both of these versions in naming Thyone not as the mother of Dionysos but as his nurse, and ἔνιοι suggests that others shared this opinion. According to Praxilla of Sikyon (F 752 Page), Dionysos was a son of Aphrodite.

The line is clearly a reference to the fact that Dionysos was a precocious baby, but we can merely guess at the actual context. Tzschirner (56) thinks that the line may come from a hymn to Dionysos sung at one of the banquets described by Panyassis. Since the line is said to be from the third book of the *Herakleia,* it seems reasonable to conclude that it was part of the banquet referred to in F 4 K, and so one at the house of Pholos the centaur. It could be a line from a drinking-song rather than from a formal hymn.

One cannot find a striking Homeric parallel to this line of Panyassis, but the opening phrase καί ῥ' ὁ μέν does occur in *Il.* 9. 634 and *Od.* 5. 195. The verb θόρε appears in the same metrical position in *Il.* 8. 320 (= 23. 509) and 23. 353, while the word ποσσί(ν) is found under the same metrical conditions (cf. F 15 K. 1 ποσσὶ περήσας) in *Il.* 15. 356.

FRAGMENTS 6 K, 20 K, AND 21 K

Text

F 6 K

(a) Clement of Alexandria *Protrepticus* 2. 36. 2 (Stählin 1. 27. 8). . . . ναὶ μὴν καὶ τὸν 'Αιδωνέα ὑπὸ 'Ηρακλέους τοξευθῆναι Ὅμηρος λέγει καὶ τὸν † 'Ηλειὸν Αὐγέαν Πανύασσις ἱστορεῖ.

† 'Ηλειὸν Αὐγέαν MSS Ἥλιον [Αὐγέαν] Schw. (accepted by Stählin) Ἥλιον αὐτὸν Heyne (*Obss. ad Apollod. Bibl.* 2. 5. 10 [Göttingen 1803], 161, accepted by Kinkel, 256) Ἥλιον ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Bergk (*Poetae Lyrici Graeci*[4] 3, 208) ἡλίου Αὐγέαν Cod. Coll. novi (cited by Kinkel, 256)

(b) Schol. Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2. 36 (Clem. Alex. *Opera*, ed. W. Dindorf [Oxford 1869], 1, 425). Δαίμων τις οὗτος 'Ηλεῖος Αὐγέας, ἐναντίος τῷ Πλούτωνι, ὃν καὶ τοξευόμενον ὑπὸ 'Ηρακλέους Πανύασσις εἰσάγει. (Cf. F 21 K.)

F 20 K

Clement of Alexandria *Protrepticus* 2. 36. 2 (Stählin 1. 27. 9). ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἥραν τὴν ζυγίαν ἱστορεῖ τοξευθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ 'Ηρακλέους ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος Πανύασσις "ἐν Πύλῳ ἠμαθόεντι".

F 21 K

Arnobius *Adversus Gentes* 4. 25 (ed. C. Marchesi [Turin 1934], 231). Non ex vobis Panyassis unus est, qui ab Hercule Ditem patrem et reginam memorat sauciatam esse Junonem?

Commentary

All attempts to emend the text of F 6 K have been governed by the belief that Panyassis is referring to the same story as Apollodoros *Bibl.* 2. 5. 10 about Herakles travelling to Erytheia in the cup of the Sun, also told by Pherekydes 3 F 18a (= Ath. 11. 470c): ὁ δ' 'Ηρακλῆς ἕλκεται ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ τόξον ὡς βαλών· καὶ ὁ Ἥλιος παύσασθαι κελεύει, ὁ δὲ δείσας παύεται. Ἥλιος δὲ ἀντὶ τούτου δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὸ δέπας τὸ χρύσεον, ... ἔπειτα πορεύεται ὁ 'Ηρακλῆς ἐν τῷ δέπαϊ τούτῳ ἐς τὴν 'Ερύθειαν κ.τ.λ. However, in the versions given by Apollodoros and Pherekydes, Herakles was only *going* to shoot at Helios, but, if Ἥλιον is read in this fragment, according to Panyassis he actually

did shoot and indeed wounded Helios. However, it is difficult to see how Herakles could have shot Helios in Panyassis' version, for, according to F 7 K, Herakles received the cup not from Helios but from Nereus. The text of Clement does not name Helios but once it was thought that Helios should be named, the text was emended. Heyne's emendation has proved the most popular, being approved by Kinkel, and also by Müller (1, 425, note 4) and Funcke.[1] Tzschirner (68), on the other hand, adopts τὸν Ἡλίου Αὐγέαν. Certainly, when we compare the traditional story, it seems unlikely that Panyassis can actually have told of Herakles *wounding* Helios. But can τὸν Ἡλίου Αὐγέαν stand? Clement is here listing deities who suffered wounds and it is doubtful whether he would have included the mere son of a god in such company. We are surely wrong to treat this reference in isolation from the rest of the passage (2. 36. 2 = F 20 K) and also F 21 K (Arnobius *Adv. Gentes* 4. 25). Clement 2. 36. 2 continues: ἤδη δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἥραν τὴν ζυγίαν ἱστορεῖ ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἡρακλέους ὁ αὐτὸς οὗτος Πανύασσις "ἐν Πύλῳ ἠμαθόεντι", and Arnobius writes: Non ex vobis Panyassis unus est, qui ab Hercule Ditem patrem et reginam memorat sauciatam esse Junonem? A comparison of Clement 2. 35-6 and Arnobius 4. 25 reveals many common features. For example, in listing deities who served as slaves, Clement mentions in order Apollo, Herakles, Poseidon, Apollo (again), Athena, and Aphrodite, and then quotes Panyassis (F 16 K). Arnobius lists Herakles, Apollo, Poseidon, Apollo, and Athena. Then come the lists of deities who suffered wounds; Clement names Aphrodite, Ares, Athena (citing Polemon *FHG* 3, 122, F 24), Hades, † Ἠλειὸν Αὐγέαν (citing Panyassis), Hera (citing Panyassis) and finally Herakles (citing Sosibios *FGrHist* 595 F 13). Arnobius' list is as follows: Ares, Aphrodite, Hades (citing Panyassis), Hera (citing Panyassis), Athena (citing Polemon), and Herakles (citing Sosibios). Obviously Arnobius was drawing on Clement who gives a fuller and more detailed account,[2] and all the information given by Arnobius can be found in him with one exception—the fact that Panyassis said that Hades (Dis) was wounded by Herakles—unless, that is, the corruption in the text of Clement can conceal the name of Hades.[3] If that is so, F 6 + F 20 give us the same story as F 21;

[1] C. Ph. Funcke, *De Panyasidis Vita et Poesi* (Bonn 1837), 26, cited by Tzschirner (45) but not seen by author.

[2] Arnobius *Adv. Gentes*, trans. H. Bryce and H. Campbell, (Edinburgh 1871), 207, note 2 and xvii.

[3] Note that the Schol. Clem. Alex. apparently knows that Panyassis

so an examination of fragments 20 and 21 may give us a clue to the text of F 6.

The two fragments 20 and 21 are usually taken to refer to the fight at Pylos, where Herakles fought against Neleus and his sons (Müller, I, 534; Tzschirner, 68; Huxley, 185-6). The story is found in Apollodoros *Bibl.* 2. 7. 3, where we are told that Herakles slew Neleus and all his sons except Nestor, who was then being brought up among the Gerenians, and that he also wounded Hades, who supported the Pylians. The reason for the attack is found in Apollodoros *Bibl.* 2. 6. 2 and in Diodoros 4. 31. 4, where we learn that Neleus had refused to purify Herakles after the murder of Iphitos. But our earliest version of the story is found in Homer, in *Iliad* 5. 392-402, a passage with which Panyassis was familiar (see F 16 K). There we are told that Hera was wounded by Herakles (392) and that Hades was likewise wounded (395) and that at least the latter event happened ἐν Πύλῳ (397). Nestor himself tells of the fight at Pylos in *Iliad* 11. 690 ff., but does not mention the participation of any deities. Other accounts were given by Hesiod *Aspis* 359-67, where Herakles tells how he defeated Ares when the god had fought against him ὑπὲρ Πύλου ἠμαθόεντος, and by Pindar *Ol.* 9. 30-5, who tells of Herakles fighting against Poseidon, Apollo, and Hades. A comparison of all these versions shows that Panyassis is clearly following Homer, in that he mentioned Hera and Hades being attacked by Herakles and apparently did not include any other names.

It is not clear that Homer meant that Hera was wounded at Pylos,[4] but Panyassis clearly put the incident there. But what about the struggle with Hades? The scholiast to Pindar *Ol.* 9. 30 (I, 276-7 Drachmann) tells that the fight against the gods narrated by Pindar consisted of three disconnected incidents: (a) Herakles fought Poseidon because he championed the Pylians since Neleus was his son; (b) the fight against Apollo was over the Delphic

related that Plouton was wounded by Herakles. What was his source for this information when it is not in the text of Clement? Had the scholiast himself read the *Herakleia* or could he have drawn his information from Arnobius? Yet, whatever the source of his knowledge, he is clearly defeated by the reading in his text of Clement. From this scholiast we may conclude that (a) Panyassis *did* say that Plouton was wounded by Herakles, (b) the corruption in the text of Clement is an old one.

[4] Cf. Schol. *Il.* 5. 392 (5. 180 Maass) which says that some people placed the wounding of Hera in the fight against the Pylians, but others said that it took place because she had refused to suckle Herakles when he was an infant.

tripod; (c) the fight against Hades arose from Herakles' attempt to bring up Kerberos. What was Panyassis' version of the latter fight—did it take place at Pylos or was it in the Kerberos episode, which Panyassis probably told (F 9 K)? Certainly he knew the Homeric passage well and may have followed it. But what does ἐν Πύλῳ mean in *Iliad* 5. 397? The scholiast on the passage says Ἀρίσταρχος "πύλῳ" ὡς χόλῳ καὶ ἑσπέρῳ, that is, he took it to be a form equivalent to πύλη, meaning the gate of the underworld.[5] The scholiast objects to this reading since Homer elsewhere uses only the plural πύλαι as in 5. 646 πύλας Ἀΐδαο, but in view of ἐν νεκύεσσι, "in the gate, among the dead", it seems attractive. Certainly Schol. *Iliad* 5. 395 must have understood it as such, since he relates the fight to the expedition to fetch Kerberos. There can be little doubt that some took the name of Pylos to mean "the gate to the underworld".[6] Pausanias refers to this passage of the *Iliad* in 6. 25. 2-3, where he is talking about a temple of Hades at Elis. The Eleans, he says, were the only people in Greece to worship Hades and did so because, when Herakles attacked Elean Pylos, Hades had fought on their side, while Athena supported Herakles. Homer was quoted in support of this story and ἐν Πύλῳ taken to be the Elean Pylos.[7] Perhaps the cult of Hades in Elis may have been older than its explanatory myth of the attack of Herakles, and the name Pylos may have really implied that this was a gateway to Hades. Certainly there seem to be grounds for taking ἐν Πύλῳ in *Iliad* 5. 397 to mean the Elean Pylos.[8]

The mention of Hades in Elis enables us to make an attempt to emend the text of Clement (F 6). Since he has just mentioned Hades under the name Aidoneus, citing Homer, Clement is perhaps unlikely to give his name a second time in the same sentence: and so we might conjecture καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἠλείοις αὐτὸν Πανύασσις ἱστορεῖ or perhaps less likely καὶ τὸν Ἠλεῖον Ἀΐδην. Certainly some such emendation introducing Hades is required.

As we have seen, Panyassis undoubtedly followed Homer in naming Hera and Hades but the manner in which he interpreted

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[5] See Leaf, *The Iliad*[2] 1. 221, on 5. 393-400.

[6] *RE* 23. 2. 2135 ff. s.v. Pylos (5); M. P. Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (Cambridge 1932), 203; M. P. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion* (Munich 1941), 1. 424 ff.

[7] L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States* (5 vols. Oxford 1896-1909), 3 (1907), 281.

[8] Leaf, *The Iliad*[2] 1. 221.

Homer is less clear. If, as I have suggested, by ἐν Πύλῳ he understood the Elean Pylos, he is unlikely to have taken Homer to say that Hera too was wounded at Pylos. More likely he interpreted Homer as not specifying where Hera was wounded and himself supplied the detail (at Neleus' Pylos) perhaps from another source. In view of F 20, it seems certain that he told of the fight at Pylos against Neleus and his sons and that Herakles fought Hera there. As for the fight with Hades, it is perhaps more likely that he told of it in the Kerberos episode. Several features suggest that this was at least the original place for the struggle: ἐν νεκύεσσι *Iliad* 5. 397, and the language of Pindar Ol. 9. 33-5:

> . . . οὐδ' Ἀΐδας ἀκινήταν ἔχε ῥάβδον,
> βρότεα σώμαθ' ᾇ κατάγει κοίλαν πρὸς ἀγυιὰν
> θνᾳσκόντων,

where the scholiast tells us that this did refer to the Kerberos episode. Panyassis may have told that Herakles entered the underworld in Elis. According to Pausanias (3. 25. 4), some Greek poets said that Herakles brought up the hound of Hades at Tainaros in Lakonia, though it is not clear whether or not he entered the underworld there. Pausanias reports that there was no road leading underground through the cave at Tainaros and cites with approval the rationalizing explanation of Hekataios (1 F 27), that a terrible serpent lived on Tainaros and was called the hound of Hades because anyone bitten by it died of its poison at once.

It is difficult to tell from these fragments whether they are in fact references to descriptions of the actual episodes by Panyassis. Both Clement and Arnobius are merely making lists and the passage in *Iliad* 5 is also of a catalogue form (so too Panyassis F 16 K). Stoessl suggests that these references may be to a catalogue in the *Herakleia* of gods injured by Herakles (891). Certainly the quotation "ἐν Πύλῳ ἠμαθόεντι" suggests that Panyassis was not relating the episode as it happened, but was merely reporting it on another occasion. However, it seems impossible to decide whether this supposition can also apply to the fight with Hades. But if Panyassis linked the fight with Hades to the Kerberos episode, he could have given a graphic description of it in that context.

The phrase ἐν Πύλῳ ἠμαθόεντι is, of course, a common epic cliché: cf. *Od.* 11. 257, ἐν Πύλῳ ἠμαθόεντι, at the end of the line, also 459 (cf. McLeod, 104); and in other cases, e.g., *Il.* 2. 77; 9. 153; 295;

11. 712; *Od.* 1. 93; 2. 214; 359. The epithet of Hera used by Clement, ζυγίη, is unusual, and he may well have taken it from Panyassis. This is made more likely by the fact the word does occur in epic, in Apollonios Rhodios 4. 96, Ἥρη τε ζυγίη meaning "goddess of marriage". Hesychios cites the word Ζυγία as a name for Hera and also gives a masculine form Ζύγιος meaning Zeus.

FRAGMENT 7 K

TEXT

(a) Athenaios 11. 469d (Kaibel, 3, 31). ʽΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΝ. Πείσανδρος ἐν δευτέρῳ ʽΗρακλείας (F 5 K) τὸ δέπας ἐν ᾧ διέπλευσεν ὁ ʽΗρακλῆς τὸν ʼΩκεανὸν εἶναι μέν φησιν ʽΗλίου, λαβεῖν δʼ αὐτὸ παρʼ ʼΩκεανοῦ τὸν ʽΗρακλέα. μήποτε δὲ ἔπει μεγάλοις ἔχαιρε ποτηρίοις ὁ ἥρως, διὰ τὸ μέγεθος παίζοντες οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ συγγραφεῖς πλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν ποτηρίῳ ἐμυθολόγησαν. Πανύασις δʼ ἐν πρώτῳ ʽΗρακλείας παρὰ Νηρέως φησὶ τὴν τοῦ ʽΗλίου φιάλην κομίσασθαι τὸν ʽΗρακλέα καὶ διαπλεῦσαι εἰς ʼΕρύθειαν.

πρώτῳ MSS τετάρτῳ Dübner ια′ Wilamowitz πέμπτῳ Robert

(b) Macrobius *Saturnalia* 5. 21. 19 (Willis, 1, 341). — poculo autem Herculem vectum ad ʼΕρύθειαν, id est Hispaniae insulam, navigasse et Panyasis, egregius scriptor Graecorum, dicit et Pherecydes (*FGrHist* 3 F 18a) auctor est.

COMMENTARY

This fragment refers to the voyage of Herakles to Erytheia to bring back the cattle of Geryon, though they are not actually mentioned here.[1] The story is as old as Hesiod (*Theog.* 287 ff.):

Χρυσάωρ δʼ ἔτεκεν τρικέφαλον Γηρυονῆα
μειχθεὶς Καλλιρόῃ κούρῃ κλυτοῦ ʼΩκεανοῖο
τὸν μὲν ἄρʼ ἐξενάριξε βίη ʽΗρακληείη
βουσὶ παρʼ εἰλιπόδεσσι περιῤῥύτῳ εἰν ʼΕρυθείῃ
ἤματι τῷ ὅτε περ βοῦς ἤλασεν εὐρυμετώπους
Τίρυνθʼ εἰς ἱερὴν διαβὰς πόρον ʼΩκεανοῖο·

This story was expanded by Peisandros (F 5 K) and Stesichoros (F 185 Page = Ath. 11. 469e), who said that the hero travelled to Erytheia in the cup of Helios. Panyassis followed their example in his version but differed from Peisandros in the name of the person from whom Herakles received the cup. Stesichoros did not name any intermediary, Peisandros named Okeanos, and Panyassis Nereus.

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[1] See Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 5. 10.

The story that Helios sailed back across the world (from west to east) in a vessel (variously δέπας, φιάλη, λέβης, see Ath. 11. 469d-470d) would certainly be earlier than any story that Herakles availed himself of its empty journey from east to west, and Athenaios (11. 470c) says that the poet of the *Titanomachia* was the first to give it (F 7 Allen; Kinkel, 312). This must certainly have been early, since the Ionian poet Mimnermos (Ath. 11. 470a = F 10 Diehl²) also mentioned the cup of Helios, calling it a golden bed.

One result of making Herakles travel to Erytheia in the cup of the Sun is that Erytheia must then be placed in the far west. Hesiod (*Theog.* 294) only knows that 'Ερύθεια is πέρην κλυτοῦ 'Ωκεανοῖο, but Tzschirner (46) is hardly right when he suggests that it is unlikely that Panyassis' picture of it was any clearer. Panyassis obviously puts Erytheia in the west, in no apparent disagreement with the view of the Pontic Greeks reported by his relative Herodotos who says (4. 8) Γηρυόνεα δὲ οἰκέειν ἔξω τοῦ Πόντου, κατοικημένον τὴν Ἕλληνες λέγουσι 'Ερύθειαν νῆσον τὴν πρὸς Γαδείροισι τοῖσι ἔξω Ἡρακλέων στηλέων ἐπὶ τῷ 'Ωκεανῷ.

It seems possible that Peisandros was the first to give to Herakles the cup of Helios, thus locating his adventures in the far west, for there too was the land of the Hesperides where he was to obtain the golden apples.[2] Peisandros' interest in this area may well reflect early Rhodian explorations in the western Mediterranean.[3] Others placed Erytheia in less remote parts. Hekataios (*FGrHist* 1 F 26) placed Geryon and his cattle in northwestern Greece in what was apparently the older version of the story.[4]

According to the manuscripts, this fragment comes from the first book of the *Herakleia*. But since the western adventures invariably come late in our accounts (cf. Apollodoros *Bibl.* 2. 5. 10), it is not credible that they should occur in Panyassis' first book. Dübner (14) emends πρώτῳ to τετάρτῳ, and Robert to πέμπτῳ.[5] A more recently discovered fragment (F 28), which comes from

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[2] Cf. Mimnermos F 10. 8 Diehl², where the Sun begins his journey χώρου ἀφ' 'Εσπερίδων.

[3] Strabo 14. 2. 10, C 654. There is also the Phokaian settlement called Rhode on the coast of Spain, recalling earlier Rhodian interests ([Skymnos] 205-7). Cf. Friedländer (21), who mentions the role of Helios in Rhodian cult, and Huxley (101).

[4] Cf. Huxley, 101, and also his article, "A Poem of the Ainianes", *GRBS* 8 (1967), 91.

[5] C. Robert, *Die griechische Heldensage* (Berlin 1921), 2, 468.

book 5, indicates that either of these suggestions could be right. Certainly, in view of F 28, Wilamowitz' suggested change of α′ (i.e., πρώτῳ) to ια′ (cited by Kaibel, *app. crit.*), meaning the eleventh book, is clearly incorrect.

We can learn nothing more about Geryon from the other fragments of Panyassis, but it is possible that, like Hesiod (*Theog.* 287-8; 979-82), and perhaps Stesichoros (F 186 Page), Panyassis made him a son of Chrysaor and the Okeanid Kallirhoe. The name Chrysaor comes in Karian genealogies. He was the father of Mylasos, the eponymous hero of Mylasa (Steph. Byz. s.v. Μύλασα), and the city of Idrias was formerly known as Chrysaoris (Steph. Byz. s.vv. Ἰδριάς, Χρυσάορις). In Stratonikeia in Karia, Zeus had the cult-title of Χρυσαορεύς, and the temple there was common to all Karians (Strabo 14. 2. 25, C 660).[6]

[6] Friedländer, 25.

FRAGMENT 8 K

Text

Schol. *Odyssey* 12. 301 (ed. G. Dindorf [Oxford 1855], 2, 549). ἢ βοῦν, ἠέ τι μῆλον] Νυμφόδωρος (*FGrHist* 572 F 3) ὁ τὴν Σικελίαν περιηγησάμενος καὶ Πολύαινος καὶ Πανύασις φύλακα τῶν Ἡλίου βοῶν † Φυλάκιόν φησι γενέσθαι, ὃν Φιλοστέφανος (*FHG* 3, 31) Αἰολιδοῦν εἶναί φησι καὶ ἔχειν ἐν Μύλαις ἡρῷον.

† φυλάκιον Q φύλαιον Vind. φυλάϊκον H Φύλακον Müller (*FHG* 2, 376) Φάλακρον Meineke (370)

Commentary

It seems safe to attribute this fragment to the *Herakleia*, rather than the *Ionika*. The context, however, is not clear. In *Od.* 12. 132 the guardians of the cattle of Helios are his daughters, the nymphs Phaëthousa and Lampetie, who pastured the herds in the island of Thrinakia. This island was usually identified by later writers (e.g., Thuk. 6. 2; Strabo 6. 2. 1, C 265) with Sicily. There is no *direct* evidence from this fragment that Panyassis had Thrinakia or Sicily in his poem, and indeed we learn from Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 1. 6. 1) that there were cattle of the Sun in Erytheia, which were driven away by Alkyoneus, who eventually met his death at the hands of Herakles (Apollodoros *Bibl.* 1. 6. 1-2). We know from F 7 K that, according to Panyassis, Herakles went to Erytheia to fetch the cattle of Geryon but since in F 8 K the poet is mentioned along with Nymphodoros, who wrote (ca. 200 B.C.) on Sicily, it is possible that he placed this episode of the cattle of Helios in Sicily, whether he called it Θρινακία, Τρινακία, or Σικελία (for the names cf. Strabo 6. 2. 1, C 265).

If we can correct the corrupt name of the herdsman of the cattle, it may enable us to decide with greater certainty where Panyassis placed the cattle of the Sun. Two possibilities have been suggested, Φύλακον and Φάλακρον. The name Phylakos is given by Pherekydes (3 F 33) but in a Thessalian setting and with no mention of cattle of the Sun. Meineke (370) puts forward both suggestions but favours Φάλακρον, and I find his arguments convincing. Kinkel (256) is not very helpful, in that his excerpt from the scholiast ends

at γενέσθαι. Tzschirner (45) reads Φάλακρον but takes Αἰολιδοῦς as a proper name, presumably an alternative given by Philostephanos, and he adds that the words καὶ ἔχειν ἐν Μύλαις ἡρῷον do not refer to Phalakros but only to Aiolidous. That he is wrong is shown by Ptolemy (3. 4. 2) who mentions a Phalakrion Akron at Mylai. The clause ὃν Φιλοστέφανος κ.τ.λ. does not present an alternative version, but is simply giving additional information about the herdsman. Meineke is certainly correct in taking Αἰολιδοῦς as a patronymic and for Phalakros, son of Aiolos, he refers to Schol. *Od.* 10. 6 (erroneously cited by Meineke as 20. 6): ἓξ μὲν θυγατέρες: Αἴολος Τηλεπάτραν τὴν Λαιστρυγόνου γήμας ἐγέννησε θυγατέρας ἓξ καὶ ταύταις ἴσους υἱούς. εἰσὶ δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄρρεσιν ὀνόματα Ἰόκαστος, Ξοῦθος, Φάλακρος, Χρύσιππος Φερήμων, Ἀνδροκλῆς, κ.τ.λ. (1, 446 Dindorf) Although Diodoros (5. 8. 1) does not name Phalakros among the Aiolidai, he does tell that the sons of Aiolos exercised control over the coast of southern Italy and the island of Sicily (5. 8. 1-9. 5). In view of this, it is not surprising that there was a hero-cult of Phalakros at Mylai on the north coast of Sicily (Ptol. 3. 4. 2). Not only was Phalakros known at Mylai, but the cattle of the Sun had connections there also, as is shown by Schol. A. R. 4. 965 (299, Wendel): Μύλας δὲ χερσόνησον Σικελίας, ἐν ᾗ αἱ τοῦ Ἡλίου βόες ἐνέμοντο (cf. Appian *BC* 5. 116).

Therefore, although Panyassis may not have been responsible for the information that Phalakros was an Aiolid and had a cult at Mylai, it seems to me very probable that he placed this episode of the cattle of the Sun in Sicily, since he called the herdsman Phalakros, a name associated with Sicily, and there was a tradition of cattle of the Sun in Sicily.

This episode in Sicily could have occurred during Herakles' travels to or from Erytheia. There is a story of Herakles in Sicily when he was returning with the cattle of Geryon. In pursuit of a bull which had broken away at Rhegion, he crossed to Sicily where he had a dispute with Eryx, son of Poseidon, which was finally settled by a wrestling match (Apollodoros *Bibl.* 2. 5. 10).

FRAGMENT 9 K

TEXT

Pausanias 10. 29. 9 (Spiro, 3, 184). Πανύασσις δὲ ἐποίησεν ὡς Θησεὺς καὶ Πειρίθους ἐπὶ τῶν θρόνων παράσχοιντο σχῆμα οὐ κατὰ δεσμώτας, προσφύεσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ χρωτὸς ἀντὶ δεσμῶν σφισιν ἔφη τὴν πέτραν.

COMMENTARY

This fragment clearly refers to the punishment of Theseus and Peirithoos in Hades after their attempt to carry off Persephone with whom Peirithoos had fallen in love.[1] While the pair were in Hades, the Dioskouroi razed the city of Aphidna in Attika as a reprisal for the carrying off of Helen by Theseus (Diod. 4. 63. 5).

The story is an old one; for example, the pair appear in the *Nekyomanteia* (*Od.* 11. 631), though the Megarian Hereas objected to this line as a Peisistratean interpolation (*FGrHist* 486 F 1). The episode must also have occurred in the *Theseides*, the epics about the career of Theseus. There was also a poem in the Hesiodic corpus which told

ὡς Θησεὺς ἐς τὸν Ἅιδην ὁμοῦ Πειρίθῳ καταβαίη

(Paus. 9. 31. 5; see M-W 139). Could this be related to the epic called the *Minyas*, which may have taken its name from being composed or recited at Orchomenos, where the bones of Hesiod were said to have been reburied?[2] The *Minyas* could perhaps have been the work of a member of a school of Hesiodic poetry at Orchomenos. All the fragments of the *Minyas* (Kinkel, 215-17) are concerned with people in Hades, and among these are Theseus and Peirithoos (*Minyas* F 1 K = Paus. 10. 28. 2). Pausanias, describing a painting of Hades by Polygnotos at Delphi, says that, in his opinion, Polygnotos was following the *Minyas* in his depiction of a boat with a ferryman at the oars (i.e., Charon). Later on (10. 29. 9), Pausanias describes how Polygnotos had painted Theseus and Peirithoos sitting on chairs, with Theseus holding in his hands their

[1] Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 5. 12; *Epit.* 1. 23-4; A.R. 1. 101, with schol.; Diod. 4. 26.1; 4. 63. 4; Paus. 1. 17. 4; 9. 31. 5.

[2] Paus. 9. 38. 4. Cf. Huxley, 118 f.

two swords and Peirithoos looking at the weapons in angry exasperation. Next comes the reference to Panyassis which constitutes this fragment. Although Polygnotos and Panyassis seem to have been sufficiently contemporary perhaps to have influenced one another, Pausanias clearly suggests that the details provided by Panyassis were different from the usual ones. Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2. 5. 12) speaks of the pair being bound (δεθέντα), but in *Epit.* 1. 24 we read that they were tricked into sitting on the Chair of Forgetfulness, to which they grew (ᾧ προσφυέντες) and were held by coils of serpents. This latter version may owe something to Panyassis, although it is clear from the fragment that in his account Theseus and Peirithoos were not bound, either by serpents' coils or any other means. Of special interest with regard to this episode is the reference by Schol. Aristophanes *Knights* 1368 (ed. F. Dübner [Paris 1841], 75). ὑπολίσποις: οἱ γὰρ Ἀθηναῖοι πάντες λεπτοὶ ἐτύγχανον τὰ ὀπίσθια ἀπὸ Θησέως. ὑπόλισπα δὲ τὰ τετριμμένα. κοινῶς γοῦν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους λισπόπυγάς φασι. καὶ πλάττονται τὸν περὶ Θησέως μῦθον, ὅτι ἑλκόμενος ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους κατέλιπεν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν τὴν πυγήν. νῦν δὲ οἰκείως εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῶν ἐρεσσόντων διὰ τὴν καθέδραν λεπτοπύγων ὄντων. (Cf. also *Suda* s.v. λίσποι; Hesychios s.v. λίσποι; Aulus Gellius 10. 16. 13.) Clearly Theseus can only have left part of his rump behind if he were stuck to or growing to the rock, not if he were merely fastened by bonds. The use of the word πέτραν, rather than θρόνος as in Apollodoros, indicates a version similar to that of Panyassis. All accounts of the story agree that Theseus was freed by Herakles, and it is difficult to see how this could have been achieved in the version of Panyassis except by a Heraklean tug, which would have left part of Theseus' rump attached to the rock. Here Panyassis possibly could have been making fun of Athens by depicting her national hero in such an undignified manner.[3] It is tempting to see in this reference by the scholiast to the *Knights*, which was produced at the Lenaian festival in 424, an indication of the popularity of Panyassis' poem in fifth-century Athens, or at least of its influence on Aristophanes, but it is also possible that the Halikarnassian was drawing on a local Athenian tradition of Theseus of which we have no record from the other epics, but which apparently existed in contemporary art.[4]

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[3] Cf. the suggestion of hostility towards Athens on the part of Panyassis in Chapter II, Section Ia.

[4] J. P. Barron, in his article "New Light on Old Walls: The Murals of the

The occasion of Herakles' visit to the underworld in Panyassis' poem would be, as in Apollodoros *Bibl.* 2. 5. 12, the trip which he made there to bring up Kerberos, the hound of Hades. This is one of the oldest of the labours of Herakles, as it is the only one mentioned by name in Homer (*Il.* 8. 366 ff.; *Od.* 11. 623 ff.).

In view of the vivid motif used by Panyassis in his depiction of Theseus and Peirithoos, it is to be regretted that we do not possess his complete account of Herakles' visit to Hades, but another fragment which may belong to the episode has been preserved (see F 30, 138 below).

Theseion", *JHS* 92 (1972), 20-45, points out that Panyassis' version prevails in early classical vase-painting (42-3). He refers to a lekythos in Berlin (Berlin 30035—see plate VIIe in *JHS* 92) showing Herakles attempting to drag Peirithoos free. Barron also mentions a calyx-krater of the third quarter of the century (New York 08. 258. 21—see plate VIIf) which shows Herakles waiting for Theseus to attempt to free himself on his own by pushing off with one hand and raising himself on the shaft of his spear. In a note (181) Barron asks whether this was a detail in Panyassis' narrative or perhaps a specially heroic Athenian version in which the Attic hero did succeed in getting free by his own efforts.

FRAGMENT 10 K

Text

(a) Schol. Germanicus *Aratea* BP 61. 2. (Engonasin): Hic est Hercules super anguem incumbens, clava reiecta, pelle leonis opertus. *dicitur cum ad mala aurea profectus esset, ut refert Panuasis Heraclea, serpens hortorum custos immensae magnitudinis insomnisque fuisse.* qui cum Herculi obstiterit victorque maximo periculo Hercules abierit, Iovis hunc laborem memoriae dignum honoravit et utrosque sideribus intulit, ita ut in certamine fuere eorum habitus: serpentis caput erectum, Herculem super genu prementem, altero pede caput calcantem, dextra manu cum clava exserta, sinistra leonis pelle obvoluta.

(b) Hyginus *Poetica Astronomica* 2. 6. Engonasin: Hunc Eratosthenes Herculem dicit supra draconem conlocatum, de quo ante diximus, eumque paratum ut ad decertandum, sinistra manu pellem leonis, dextra clavam tenentem. *conatur interficere draconem Hesperidum, qui nunquam oculos operuisse somno coactus existimatur; qui malis custos adpositus esse demonstratur. de hoc etiam Panyasis in Heraclea dicit.* horum igitur pugnam Iupiter admiratus inter astra constituit. habet enim draco caput erectum, Hercules autem dextro genu nixus, sinistro pede capitis eius dextram partem opprimere conatur, dextra manu sublata ut feriens, sinistra proiecta cum pelle leonis, ut cum maxime dimicans adpareat.

Sources a and b can be found in Robert, *Eratosthenis Catasterismorum Reliquiae,* 62-5.

(c) Interpres Germanici *Aratea* 42 (cited by Tzchirner, 48). *Draconem immensae magnitudinis, hortorum custodem insomnem, dum a Junone ad custodienda aurea mala esset constitutus, Hercules, quum ad mala aurea profectus fuisset, ut refert Panyasis in Heraclea, fertur peremisse*; et idcirco inter astra Jupiter hunc laborem memoria dignum honorasse et utrosque sideribus intulisse, ita ut in certamine fuerint eorum habitus, serpentis capite iam desecto: qui ideo in genu stans, manibus sursum extensis, dextro pede contra draconem porrecto pingitur, ut certaminis labor significetur. Ideo pellem leonis in sinistra manu habere fingitur, ut insigne virtutis monstretur, quia leonem inermis interfecisse narratur.

Compare Schol. Strozz. 118, 1 (Robert, 207).

(d) Eratosthenes *Katasterismoi* 4 (Robert 62 and 64). Ὁ ἐν γόνασιν. Οὗτός φασιν Ἡρακλῆς ἐστὶν ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὄφεως βεβηκώς, ἐν ἀγῶνι δὲ ἕστηκε τό τε ῥόπαλον ἀνατετακὼς καὶ τὴν λεοντῆν περιειλημένος· λέγεται δέ, ὅτε ἐπὶ τὰ χρύσεα μῆλα ἐπορεύθη, τὸν ὄφιν τὸν τεταγμένον φύλακα αὐτῶν ἀνελεῖν ***, ὅθεν ἐπιτελεσθέντος τοῦ ἔργου μετὰ μεγίστου κινδύνου ἄξιον ὁ Ζεὺς κρίνας τὸν ἆθλον μνήμης ἐν τοῖς ἄστροις ἔθηκε τὸ Εἴδωλον· ἔστι δὲ ὁ μὲν Ὄφις μετέωρον ἔχων τὴν κεφαλήν, ὁ δ' ἐπιβεβηκὼς αὐτῷ καθεικὼς τὸ ἓν γόνυ, τῷ δ' ἑτέρῳ ποδὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπιβαίνων, τὴν δὲ δεξιὰν χεῖρα ἐκτείνων, ἐν ᾗ τὸ ῥόπαλον, ὡς παίσων, τῇ δ' εὐωνύμῳ χειρὶ τὴν λεοντῆν περιβεβλημένος.

Robert marks a lacuna, since a mention of Panyassis and the fact that the dragon never slept comes in between, as can be seen from the agreement of all the testimonies.

(e) Avienus *Phaenomena* 2. 169-93 (Holder, 10-11).

ENGONASIN Inde pruinoso si lumen abusque dracone
In convexa feras oculosque in proxima mundi
Declines, qua parte globo tumet altior orbis,
Illa laboranti similis succedet imago,
Protinus expertem quam quondam dixit Aratus
Nominis et cuius latuit quoque causa laboris,
Panyasi sed nota tamen, cui longior aetas
Eruit excussis arcana exordia rebus.
Nam dura immodici memorat sub lege tyranni
Amphitryoniaden primaevo in flore iuventae,
† *Qua cedunt medii longe secreta diei,*
Hesperidum venisse locos adque aurea mala,
Inscia quae lenti semper custodia somni
Servabat, carpsisse manu, postquam ille novercae
Insaturatae odiis serpens victoris ab ictu
Spirarumque sinus et fortia vincula laxans
Occubuit; sic membra genu subnixa sinistro
Sustentasse ferunt, sic insidisse labore
Devictum fama est. ac tum Tirynthius aethrae
Inditus et solio fultus sublime paterno est.
Iuppiter hanc speciem, mi[se]ratus acerba laborum,
Reddidit et talem cerni permisit Olympo.
En manus ipsa dei violenta in verbera pendens
Erigitur dextraeque dehinc inpressio plantae
Tempora deculcat maculosi prona draconis.

† Qua MSS Quo Suggested to me by G. L. Huxley

Only those passages in italics can be considered to be taken from Panyassis.

Commentary

This fragment refers to Herakles' quest for the golden apples of the Hesperides and the slaying of the dragon which guarded them.

There are two distinct versions of how Herakles obtained the apples. According to one version, he got possession of the apples by sending Atlas for them, while he himself stood in for Atlas as the supporter of the sky. This version is given in detail by Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2. 5. 11), who is presumably following Pherekydes (3 F 16a; 17 = Schol. A. R. 4. 1396).[1] The other story, which is the one given by Panyassis, was that Herakles obtained the apples himself, after killing the guardian snake.[2] Apollodoros refers briefly to this tradition after his account of the other version, but does not name the authors who followed it: ἔνιοι δέ φασιν οὐ παρὰ Ἄτλαντος αὐτὰ λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν δρέψασθαι τὰ μῆλα, κτείναντα τὸν φρουροῦντα ὄφιν. The story of the golden apples of the Hesperides is old, and there are several references to it in Hesiod's *Theogony* (215-16; the Hesperides and the apples; 333-5: the apples; 274-5; 517-19: the Hesperides). None of these references links the story with Herakles and φυλάσσει in line 335 clearly implies that the serpent was still alive. However it is possible that some lines naming Herakles have fallen out.[3]

As for the details of Panyassis' account of the labour, it is unfortunate that sources (a), (b), (c), and (d) all provide the same small amount of information. As Robert says, the testimony of Panyassis is relevant only to the stories, not to the constellations (so also F 3 K).[4] Hence all that we can extract from these sources is that, according to Panyassis, Herakles came to fetch the golden apples and to get them he killed their guardian, a huge unsleeping serpent, which had been stationed there by Hera (Juno).

However, Avienus (e) gives us more details of Panyassis' version of the story, for surely lines 177-85 (*occubuit*) can be considered to be a translation or paraphrase of Panyassis, since he must be the subject of *memorat* in 177. These lines tell how Herakles (Amphityoniaden), under the orders of Eurystheus (tyranni), came in the

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[1] This story is depicted on a metope of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (see Richter, *Sculpture and Sculptors*, 128 and fig. 414).

[2] Among others who give this version are Eur. *Her. Fur.* 394-9; Diod. 4. 26; A.R. 4. 1396-1407; Ovid *Met.* 9. 190; Hyg. *Fab.* 30.

[3] See West, *Hesiod*: "*Theogony*", 228-9, commentary on line 216.

[4] Robert, *Eratosthenis Catasterismorum Reliquiae*, 243.

flower of his youth to the places of the Hesperides and the golden apples. The apples were protected by a guardian who knew not sleep, but Herakles plucked them with his hand after the serpent of his stepmother Hera, who was insatiate with hate, lay dead, loosening the folds of its coils and its strong bonds.[5]

The phrase "in the flower of his youth" indicates that Herakles completed the labours early in his career, which is consistent with the suggestion that Panyassis described all the labours in the first half of the *Herakleia*, devoting the remainder of the poem to the *erga* (see Chapter II, Section 1 a).

The reference to Hera, "noverca insaturata odiis", is interesting in that it indicates that she may have played an important part in the poem as the implacable enemy of Herakles, just as Poseidon was the arch-enemy of Odysseus in the *Odyssey*. Certain other fragments support this view (F 3 K; F 20 K; F 21 K). The enmity of Hera towards Herakles went back to his birth, which she retarded so that Eurystheus might be born sooner than Herakles.[6]

The phrase "victoris ab ictu" perhaps suggests that Herakles killed the serpent with his club, not by his arrows as in Apollonios Rhodios 4. 1403-5, since "ictus" does not seem to be used of missiles, but only of hand-held weapons.[7]

Euripides, *Hercules Furens* 394-9, describes the episode in terms which resemble the Panyassian version given by Avienus:

ὑμνῳδούς τε κόρας
ἤλυθεν, Ἑσπερίαν ἐς αὐλάν,
χρύσεον πετάλων ἀπὸ μηλοφόρων
χερὶ καρπὸν ἀμέρξων,
δράκοντα πυρσόνωτον, ὅς σφ' ἄπλατον
ἀμφελικτὸς ἕλικ' ἐφρούρει, κτανών·

Certain correspondences can be noticed: venisse — ἤλυθεν; Hesperidum . . . locos — Ἑσπερίαν ἐς αὐλάν; carpsisse manu — χερὶ ἀμέρξων; servabat — ἐφρούρει; spirarumque sinus — ἀμφελικτὸς ἕλικ(α). It is possible that Euripides was drawing on Panyassis for this description.

[5] Herakles is often fighting with serpents. Cf. F 3 K (the hydra); F 33 (a serpent on the Sagaris); also, the story of the infant Herakles strangling serpents sent by Hera (Pindar *Nem.* 1. 33-59; Theok. 24).

[6] See Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 4. 5; Schol. *Il.* 19. 119 = Rhianos F 9 Powell.

[7] Cf. Cic. *Caecin.* 15. 43 "neque ictu comminus neque coniectione telorum".

We can perhaps discover from Avienus 2. 179-80 the whereabouts, according to Panyassis, of the Hesperides:

> Qua cedunt medii longe secreta diei,
> Hesperidum venisse locos adque aurea mala.

Tzschirner (48) understood these lines to mean a land which did not have much sun, that is, a northern land. He reports that Funcke (33) took the lines to mean that Herakles arrived at midday. There was a tradition that the Hesperides were in the north, among the Hyperboreans, which is reported by Apollodoros *Bibl.* 2. 5. 11, following Pherekydes 3 F 16a; 17. Pindar in *Olympian* 3 refers to two visits made by Herakles to the land of the Hyperboreans. In lines 26-32 he tells that Herakles went there in his quest for the Kerynitian hind, and in lines 11-16 he says that Herakles brought back from there the olive spray which was to form the victor's crown at the Olympic Games (see also Paus. 5. 7. 7). However, no mention is made of the apples of the Hesperides. But the story is linked to the apples by Apollodoros *Bibl.* 2. 5. 11, where Herakles is said to have chosen a bond of olive before freeing Prometheus. However, poets usually placed the Hesperides in the west (as their name implies), and that was the tradition as early as Hesiod (*Theog.* 274-5):

> Γοργούς θ', αἳ ναίουσι περὶ κλυτοῦ 'Ωκεανοῖο
> ἐσχατιῇ πρὸς νυκτός, ἵν' Ἑσπερίδες λιγύφωνοι.

Avienus 2. 179 does present difficulties. The words "medii . . . diei" occur in two other places in Avienus, 2. 799 and 3. 457, in both cases in the phrase "de parte medii diei", where they seem to mean "the south". "Medius dies" clearly is equivalent to "meridies", which can mean "the south", as in Cicero *De Natura Deorum* 2. 19. 49 and Tacitus *Historiae* 5. 6. Perhaps the line can mean "where the remote parts of the south pass afar off", that is, "a land far from the south", which could be either a northern land, the land of the Hyperboreans, or a western land, the west being the only direction to which the sun can travel from the south. In this case, the line is of little assistance in trying to find the whereabouts of the Hesperides. Another, and attractive, possibility is that we should emend *qua* to *quo*, which will place the Hesperides clearly in the west—"Herakles came to the places of the Hesperides, to where pass (vanish) the far remotenesses of the noonday (or south)," a reference to the passage of the

sun to the west. The corruption of *quo* to *qua* can easily be explained as an attraction to the preceding *iuventae*.

There is no indication from our sources as to how, in Panyassis' poem, Herakles travelled to the Hesperides. We know that when he went to Erytheia to fetch the cattle of Geryon he travelled in the bowl of Helios (see F 7 K). According to Apollodoros *Bibl.* 2. 5. 11 (following Pherekydes 3 F 16a; 17), Herakles found out where the apples were from Nereus and travelled on foot through Libya and Egypt, where he met Antaios and Bousiris respectively. Having journeyed through Libya to the outer sea, he received the bowl from the Sun and crossed to the Kaukasos, where he freed Prometheus. He then got possession of the apples with the help of Atlas. Since Panyassis put the Hesperides in the west, it is not possible that they were closely connected with the freeing of Prometheus. A possible order of events is that Herakles travelled west on foot by way of the Eridanos and Tartessos (cf. Pherekydes 3 F 16a; 17) and collected the apples. Afterwards he returned through Libya and Egypt, where we know that he killed Bousiris (F 26 K). He could then have gone to the Kaukasos and freed Prometheus (and perhaps have gone on to the Hyperboreans whence he brought back the olive spray).

FRAGMENT 11 K

Text

Stephanos of Byzantion *Ethnika* s.v. Ἀσπίς (134, Meineke), πόλις Λιβύης . . . . . ἔστι καὶ ἄλλη (i.e. νῆσος), ὡς Κλέων ὁ Συρακύσιος (*FHG* 4, 365) ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν λιμένων, ἄδενδρος οὖσα. ἔστι καὶ πέραν Πίσης, ὡς Πανύασις ἐν Ἡρακλείας ἑνδεκάτῃ.

Commentary

The mention of Pisa in this fragment has led some commentators (e.g., Müller, 1, 535) to link it with the founding of the Olympic Games by Herakles, but Stephanos is clearly writing of islands here, and seems to be following Kleon of Syracuse, whom he mentions by name. Kleon is known to have written on islands (Schol. A. R. 2. 297b, 150 Wendel). The words πέραν Πίσης then can hardly refer to Pisa in Elis, for since it is inland, one could not speak of an island as "beyond Pisa". E. Meyer (*RE* 20. 2, 1736 and 1746 s.v. Pisa) suggests that the Pisa of this fragment is an island off the coast of Asia Minor, an opinion shared by Stoessl (889). The name is pre-Greek and may be compared with *Pis*-names in Asia Minor such as Pisye, Pisidai and Pisilis.

There is in Apollodoros a reference to what may be the same Pisa. In *Bibl.* 2. 6. 3, in an account of Herakles' service to Omphale, we read that Herakles put in to the island of Doliche, where he found and buried the body of Ikaros and in his honour renamed the island Ikaria. In return, Ikaros' father Daidalos made a statue of Herakles ἐν Πίσῃ, a statue which was so life-like that Herakles at night mistook it for a person and hit it with a stone. This Pisa would appear to be a small island near Ikaria and may be identified with the one mentioned by Stephanos (see Stoessl, 889 and Huxley, 184). Panyassis, being a Karian, could have had a detailed knowledge of the south-eastern Aegean, especially if he spent a term of exile in Samos. Also of interest in this connection is the island called Aspis mentioned by the elder Pliny (*HN* 5. 131) off the coast of Lykia (*RE* 2. 2, 1734 s.v. Aspis no. 3). If this was the one mentioned by Panyassis, there may well be a link with F 18 K. Also worth noting are the mountain called Daidala in Lykia and the city of the same

name in the Rhodian *Peraia,* mentioned by Strabo (14. 3. 2, C 664), which Panyassis could perhaps have connected with Daidalos as does Stephanos s.v. Δαίδαλα (cf. Ikarian sea — Ikaros).

At what stage in Herakles' adventures could Panyassis have mentioned Aspis and Pisa? It seems likely that the reference could have occurred somewhere in the episode of Herakles serving Omphale, as in the version of Apollodoros. Another possibility is the episode with the sons of Tremiles (F 18 K), an adventure which Panyassis may well have made part of Herakles' service to Omphale. This fragment (F 11 K) is said to come from the eleventh book of the *Herakleia* and is the only one definitely known to be from such a late book. It is fitting that it should be concerned with an adventure outside the twelve labours since there is every indication that Panyassis treated these in the earlier part of his poem.[1] The remainder of the *Herakleia* would then consist of subsidiary adventures, or *erga,* including the service in Lydia (F 17 K) and the episode of the sons of Tremiles (F 18 K), to either of which this fragment could refer.

[1] See F 28 and also F 7 K.

FRAGMENTS 12 K, 13 K, and 14 K

TEXT

F 12 K

Stobaios *Anthologion* 18. 21 (ed. C. Wachsmuth and O. Hense [Berlin 1894], 3, 518). Πανυάσσιδος·

ξεῖν' ἄγε δὴ καὶ πῖν', ἀρετή νύ τις ἔστι καὶ αὐτή,
ὅς κ' ἀνδρῶν πολὺ πλεῖστον ἐν εἰλαπίνῃ μέθυ πίνῃ
εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως, ἅμα τ' ἄλλον φῶτα κελεύῃ.
ἶσόν θ' ὅς τ' ἐν δαιτὶ καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ θοὸς ἀνὴρ
ὑσμίνας διέπων ταλαπενθέας, ἔνθα τε παῦροι
θαρσαλέοι τελέθουσι μένουσί τε θοῦρον Ἄρηα.
τοῦ κεν ἐγὼ θείμην ἶσον κλέος, ὅς τ' ἐνὶ δαιτὶ
τέρπηται παρεὼν ἅμα τ' ἄλλον λαὸν ἀνώγῃ.
οὐ γάρ μοι ζώειν γε δοκεῖ βροτὸς οὐδὲ βιῶναι
ἀνθρώποιο βίον ταλασίφρονος, ὅστις ἀπ' οἴνου
θυμὸν ἐρητύσας πίνει ποτόν, ἄλλ' ἐνεόφρων.
οἶνος γὰρ πυρὶ ἶσον ἐπιχθονίοισιν ὄνειαρ
ἐσθλόν, ἀλεξίκακον, πάσης συνοπηδὸν ἀοιδῆς.
ἐν μὲν γὰρ θαλίης ἐρατὸν μέρος ἀγλαΐης τε,
ἐν δὲ χοροιτυπίης, ἐν δ' ἱμερτῆς φιλότητος.
† ἐν δέ τε μὲν θήρης καὶ δυσφροσύνης ἀλεγεινῆς †
τῷ σε χρὴ παρὰ δαιτὶ δεδεγμένον εὔφρονι θυμῷ
πίνειν, μηδὲ βορῆς κεχορημένον ἠύτε γῦπα
ἧσθαι πλημύροντα, λελασμένον εὐφροσυνάων.

Lines 12-19 (except 16) are also given by Ath. 2. 37a; and 12-13 by *Suda* s.v. οἶνος.

5 ἔνθα δὲ MSS ἔνθα τε Brunck (cited by Kinkel, 258)
8 λαὸν ἀνώγῃ MSS φῶτα κελεύῃ (as in 3) Meineke (364)
11 ἄλλο νεόφρων MSS ἄλλ' ἐνεόφρων Meineke (364) and Kinkel (258) ἀλλ' ἐνεόφρων Wachsmuth and Hense, who cite Valckenaer
13 πάσης · · · ἀοιδῆς Stob. πάσῃ · · · ἀνίῃ Ath.; *Suda*
14 ἐρατὸν Ath. ἱερὸν Stob. (accepted by Meineke, 365) ἱλαρὸν Koechly (*Opusc. Phil.* 1, 230 = *Coniect. Epic.* 1, 10), accepted by Kinkel, 258, and Wachsmuth and Hense
16 † This line is not given by Ath. ἐν δέ τε μὲν θήρης καὶ δυσφροσύνης ἀλεγεινῆς MSS ἐν δέ τε μενθήρης καὶ δυσφροσύνης ἀλεγεινῆς Meineke (365) ἐν δέ τε μενθήρας καὶ δυσφροσύνας ἀλεείνειν T. Bergk (*Kleine*

Philologische Schriften 2 [Halle 1886], 283) ἐν δέ τε μενθήρης καὶ δυσφροσύνης ἀλεωρή Wachsmuth and Hense ἐν δέ γε μὲν θήρης Tzschirner (55)

18 βορῇ κεκακωμένον ἠύτε γῦπα Stob. βορῆς κεκορημένον ἠύτε παῖδα Ath. βορῆς κεκορημένον ἠύτε γῦπα Kinkel (258) βορῇ κεκορημένον ἠύτε γῦπα Meineke (365)

19 πλημμύροντα MSS For the proper spelling see Jebb's note on Bacchylides 5. 107 (*The Odes of Bacchylides* ed. R. C. Jebb [Cambridge 1905], 281)

F 13 K

Athenaios 2. 36d-37b (Kaibel, 1, 84). Πανύασις δ' ὁ ἐποποιὸς τὴν μὲν πρώτην πόσιν ἀπονέμει Χάρισιν, Ὥραις καὶ Διονύσῳ, τὴν δὲ δευτέραν Ἀφροδίτῃ καὶ πάλιν Διονύσῳ, Ὕβρει δὲ καὶ Ἄτῃ τὴν τρίτην. Πανύασίς φησι,

πρώτην μὲν Χάριτές τ' ἔλαχον καὶ εὔφρονες Ὧραι
μοῖραν καὶ Διόνυσος ἐρίβρομος, οἵπερ ἔτευξαν.
τοῖς δ' ἔπι Κυπρογένεια θεὰ λάχε καὶ Διόνυσος,
ἔνθα τε κάλλιστος πότος ἀνδράσι γίγνεται οἴνου·
εἴ τις <τόν> γε πίοι καὶ ἀπότροπος οἴκαδ' ἀπέλθοι
δαιτὸς ἀπὸ γλυκερῆς, οὐκ ἄν ποτε πήματι κύρσαι·
ἀλλ' ὅτε τις μοίρης τριτάτης πρὸς μέτρον ἐλαύνοι
πίνων ἀβλεμέως, τότε δ' Ὕβριος αἶσα καὶ Ἄτης
γίγνεται ἀργαλέα, κακὰ δ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὀπάζει.
ἀλλὰ πέπον, μέτρον γὰρ ἔχεις γλυκεροῖο ποτοῖο,
στεῖχε παρὰ μνηστὴν ἄλοχον, κοίμιζε δ' ἑταίρους·
δείδια γὰρ τριτάτης μοίρης μελιηδέος οἴνου
πινομένης, μή σ' Ὕβρις ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸν ἀέρσῃ,
ἐσθλοῖς δὲ ξενίοισι κακὴν ἐπιθῇσι τελευτήν.
ἀλλὰ πιθοῦ καὶ παῦε πολὺν πότον.

1 πρῶται MSS πρώτην Hoeschel (cited by Kinkel, 259)

5 γε πίοι and με πίοι MSS <τόν> γε πίοι Koechly (*Opusc. Phil.* 1, 233-4 = *Coniect. Epic.* 1, 14), accepted by Kinkel, 259, and Kaibel

14 ἐσθλοῖς ἐν ξενίοισι κακὴν δ' ἐπιθήσειε τελευτήν MSS ἐσθλοῖς τε ξενίοισι κακὴν ἐπιθῇσι τελευτήν Funcke (cited by Tzchirner) ἐσθλοῖσι ξενίοισι κακὴν δ' ἐπιθῇσι τελευτήν Dübner (16) ἐσθλοῖς δὲ ξενίοισι κακὴν ἐπιθῇσι τελευτήν Kinkel, Kaibel ἐσθλοῖς δ' ἐν ξενίοισι κακὴν ἐπιθῇσι τελευτήν Meineke (367) μή σ' ὕβρις ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμὸν ἀέρσῃ / ἐσθλοῖς ἐν ξείνοισι, κακὴν δ' ἐπιθῇσι τελευτήν Meineke (367)

15 ἀλλ' ἄπιθι MSS (defended by Tzchirner) ἀλλὰ πιθοῦ Meineke

F 14 K

Athenaios 2. 37a (Kaibel, 1, 86). Πανύασις δὲ λέγει (F 12. 12-15, 17-19) . . . . καὶ πάλιν

οἶνος <δὲ> θνητοῖσι θεῶν πάρα δῶρον ἄριστον,
ἀγλαός· ᾧ πᾶσαι μὲν ἐφαρμόζουσιν ἀοιδαί,
πάντες δ' ὀρχησμοί, πᾶσαι δ' ἐραταὶ φιλότητες.
πάσας δ' ἐκ κραδίης ἀνίας ἀνδρῶν ἀλαπάζει
πινόμενος κατὰ μέτρον, ὑπὲρ μέτρον δὲ χερείων.
ἐκ γάρ οἱ Ἄτης τε καὶ Ὕβριος αἶσ' <ἄμ'> ὀπηδεῖ.

Athenaios (2. 36d) quotes line 6 immediately after F 13 K, saying καὶ ἑξῆς περὶ ἀμέτρου οἴνου "ἐκ γάρ . . . ὀπηδεῖ." This line was joined to 1-5 by Meineke (366). Lines 1 and 5 are also given by Clem. Alex. *Strom.* 6. 2. 11 (Stählin, 2. 431. 2); Πανύασις γράφει·

ὡς οἶνος θνητοῖσι θεῶν πάρα δῶρον ἄριστον
πινόμενος κατὰ μέτρον, ὑπέρμετρος δὲ χερείων.

1 ὡς οἶνος Clem. οἶνος <δὲ> Meineke (366), Kinkel (260)
5 ὑπὲρ μέτρον Ath. ὑπέρμετρος Clem.
6 ἐκ γάρ MSS ἦ γάρ Meineke (366, note 1) καὶ γάρ Naeke (cited by Meineke)
αἶσα MSS αἶσ' <ἄμ'> Naeke (accepted by Meineke and Kinkel)

Commentary

It seems probable from the text of Athenaios that these three fragments belong to the same episode and go closely together. They clearly are part of the description of a banquet, but there are several feasts among the adventures of Herakles to which the fragments could belong. Tzschirner (55) justifies his reading of F 12. 16 (ἐν δὲ γε μὲν θήρης) by referring it to a feast before the hunting of the Erymanthian boar. By this he presumably means the feast with Pholos (see Apollodoros *Bibl.* 2. 5. 4). However, F 12 clearly shows a host encouraging his guest to drink up and singing the praises of wine, but according to Apollodoros, Pholos was reluctant to give Herakles wine when he called for it, and Herakles himself had to open the jar. It seems therefore unlikely that F 12 can refer to the banquet with Pholos. Müller (1, 534), writing of F 13, says that the banquet in question is probably that given by Pholos. The first three lines of the fragment show that it belongs to the end of a banquet. The first two bowls have been drained, and a third is not recommended because of the trouble which usually follows the immoderate use of wine. The host tells his guest to go home to his wife and to quieten his comrades. Again this does not suit the story of Pholos. A more likely banquet is the one at the house of Eurytos, from which Herakles was ejected by his host (see Sophokles *Trachi-*

niai 268-9 δείπνοις δ', ἡνίκ' ἦν ᾠνωμένος, / ἔρριψεν ἐκτὸς αὐτόν; cf. Stoessl, 884 and Huxley, 178). We know that Panyassis told the story of the sack of Oichalia (see F 27) and this banquet could be part of his story of it. Such a context would particularly suit line 11 of the fragment, στεῖχε παρὰ μνηστὴν ἄλοχον — Herakles by now has his eye on Iole, and Eurytos tells him to go to his wedded wife, that is, Deianeira (cf. Huxley, 179). Fragment 12, too, may belong to the description of this banquet. Clearly the speaker is addressing Herakles, to whose well-known capacity the words ὅς κ' ἀνδρῶν πολὺ πλεῖστον ἐν εἰλαπίνῃ μέθυ πίνῃ / εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως may refer. Another indication that Herakles is being addressed is the use of the word ἀλεξίκακος "averter of ill" in line 13. Here it is applied to wine, but it is often a title of Herakles himself (see Müller, 1, 461 and Huxley, 179). The speaker is likely to be Eurytos himself or perhaps one of his sons. Fragment 12 clearly belongs at the beginning of the feast with its exhortation to drink, and, as we have seen, F 13 belongs to the conclusion of the banquet. As for F 14, we have remarked that it is made up of two notices in Athenaios, the first five lines following after F 12 with the words καὶ πάλιν, and the final line coming after F 13 with the words καὶ ἑξῆς περὶ ἀμέτρου οἴνου. This may suggest that in the poem of Panyassis F 14 occurs later than F 12 and 13. The fragment may represent the sober moralizing of Eurytos after he has thrown out his unruly guest, summarizing as it does what has been said for and against wine in the other two fragments. Eurytos may be telling his sons that wine in moderation is the best gift of gods to men, but that in excess it leads to loss of one's senses and to violence, as they have just witnessed in the behaviour of Herakles.

In F 12 the number of variants found in the texts of Stobaios and Athenaios may suggest that at least two different texts of Panyassis existed in early times. In line 13 there is little to choose between the two readings πάσης συνοπηδὸν ἀοιδῆς (Stob.) and πάσῃ συνοπηδὸν ἀνίῃ (Ath.). In line 14 Stobaios' ἱερὸν does not seem very suitable in the context and Koechly's conjecture ἱλαρὸν is possible but is found in extant epic only in *Titanomachia* F 6 Allen. Athenaios' ἐρατὸν, on the other hand, is found in *Iliad* 3. 64. In line 18 I have adopted the reading of Kinkel, βορῆς κεκορημένον ἠύτε γῦπα, "stuffed with food like a vulture", which preserves the idea of "fullness" not contained in Stobaios' κεκακωμένον, yet keeps the vivid γῦπα, beside which Athenaios' παῖδα seems insipid. As for

line 16, Meineke is clearly on the right track in his attempt at reconstruction and I think that the line should be retained. For the word μενθήρῃ Meineke cites Hesychios: Μενθήραις. μερίμναις and *Etym. Magn.* 508. 6: Μενθῆραι. αἱ φροντίδες. Panyassis apparently had a liking for rare words (cf. θῆσαι F 16 K. 3). But Meineke's reconstructed line does not give a suitable meaning, for Panyassis does not mean to say "curarum etiam et sollicitudinis aliquid habere", as Meineke thinks (365), but rather something similar in sense to ἀλεξίκακον (line 13), that wine wards off care and anxiety. In view of this, the reading of Wachsmuth and Hense, ἀλεωρή, a word found in *Iliad* 12. 57 and 15. 533, is attractive. Bergk's emendation gives the same sense and is acceptable, but it involves more changes from the manuscript reading.[1] In line 5 the manuscript reading ἔνθα δὲ cannot be correct and I have adopted Kinkel's reading ἔνθα τε.[2]

In F 13, the only major textual problem is line 14. ἐπιθῆσι is clearly the correct emendation for the verb and the remaining difficulty is the position of the word δ'. Meineke (367) says that it is incredible that Panyassis should have placed it after three words and suggests two possible emendations. The second of these, which takes ἐσθλοῖς ἐν ξείνοισι with the preceding line and follows the phrase with a comma, is attractive, but I think it incorrect to separate ἐσθλοῖς . . . from κακὴν as there is clearly a studied contrast between the two words.[3] A simple dative without a preposition seems to be normal after ἐπιτίθημι, so I have accepted ἐσθλοῖς δὲ ξενίοισι, given by Kinkel and Kaibel.

Panyassis' thoughts on the uses and abuses of wine as expressed in these fragments are commonplace yet are interesting because of the very close parallels to be found in other authors. Clement, quoting lines 1 and 5 of F 14, suggests that Panyassis has borrowed from Theognis 509-10:

οἶνος πινόμενος πουλὺς κακόν· ἢν δέ τις αὐτόν
πίνῃ ἐπισταμένως, οὐ κακόν ἀλλ' ἀγαθόν.

But these lines are more reminiscent of F 12. 2-3;

ὅς κ' ἀνδρῶν πολὺ πλεῖστον ἐν εἰλαπίνῃ μέθυ πίνῃ
εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως κ.τ.λ.

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1 T. Bergk, *Kleine Philologische Schriften* 2 (Halle 1886), 283.

2 Cf. *Il.* 8. 48 and see C. J. Ruijgh, *Autour de "Te Épique"* (Amsterdam 1971), 917, note 8.

3 Cf. *Od.* 6. 189 ἐσθλοῖς ἠδὲ κακοῖσιν, 8. 553 οὐ κακὸς οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλός, 22. 415 = 23. 66 οὐ κακὸν οὐδὲ μὲν ἐσθλόν.

and a closer parallel to F 14. 5 can be found in Theognis 497-8:

ἄφρονος ἀνδρὸς ὁμῶς καὶ σώφρονος οἶνος, ὅταν
πίνῃ ὑπὲρ μέτρον, κοῦφον ἔθηκε νόον.

For another possible echo from Theognis, we can compare Theognis 475-6:

αὐτὰρ ἐγώ — μέτρον γὰρ ἔχω μελιηδέος οἴνου —
ὕπνου λυσικάκου μνήσομαι οἴκαδ' ἰών.

and F 13. lines 10, 12 and 5. E. Harrison [4] refers to several echoes of Theognis in Panyassis and suggests that F 12. 1-3 look like an answer to Theognis 971-2:

τίς δ' ἀρετὴ πίνοντ' ἐπιοίνιον ἆθλον ἑλέσθαι;
πολλάκι τοι νικᾷ καὶ κακὸς ἄνδρ' ἀγαθόν.

It is quite conceivable that Panyassis knew and was influenced by the work of the Megarian, for Theognis belonged to the generation previous to Panyassis.[5] A comparison of the vocabulary of the two poets seems to support this view, for although the language of Panyassis is, as we shall see, basically Homeric, the forty lines of these fragments display a remarkable degree of coincidence of vocabulary with Theognis, as is indicated by the following list.[6]

ἐν εἰλαπίνῃ F 12. 2; ἐν εἰλαπίναις Theognis 827.
ἐπισταμένως F 12. 3; Theognis 212; 510; 676.
παῦροι F 12. 5; Theognis 74; 698; 930.
τελέθουσι F 12. 6; τελέθει Theognis 198; 298; 366, etc.
παρεών F 12. 8; Theognis 487; παρεόντα 889; 1151, etc.
ζώειν F 12. 9; Theognis 182; 1154.
ἐπιχθονίοισιν F 12. 12; Theognis 425.
ἐσθλόν F 12. 13; Theognis 71; 431; 563, etc.
ἀοιδῆς F 12. 13; Theognis 251; 791.
θαλίης F 12. 14; θαλίῃ, Theognis 778.
ἐρατόν F 12. 14; Theognis 569; 1348.

[4] E. Harrison, *Studies in Theognis* (Cambridge 1902), 319-20.

[5] For the date of Theognis, cf. Harrison, *Studies in Theognis*, 281-6, T. Hudson-Williams, *The Elegies of Theognis* (London 1910), 6-12, and A. R. Burn, *The Lyric Age of Greece* (London 1960), 248. In any case the Megarian is at least a generation earlier than Panyassis.

[6] The edition of Theognis by D. Young (Leipzig 1961) has a useful word index, 127-67. It must of course be admitted that the coincidence of vocabulary between Theognis and Panyassis stems from the fact that both poets are using traditional epic vocabulary.

ἱμερτῆς F 12. 15; ἱμερτῶν Theognis 1064.
φιλότητος F 12. 15; Theognis 516, 1091.
δυσφροσύνης F 12. 16; δυσφροσύνας Theognis 1189 (not in Homer).
εὔφρονι θυμῷ F 12. 17; Theognis 1325; εὔφρονα θυμόν 765.
κεκορημένον F. 12. 18; κεκορημένος Theognis 751.
εὐφροσυνάων F 12. 19; εὐφροσύνας Theognis 1324; εὐφροσύνῃ 776; 1068; 1256; 1284.
ἔλαχον F 13. 1; Theognis 729.
κάλλιστος F 13. 4; κάλλιστον Theognis 7; 255; 1004.
γλυκερῆς F 13. 6; γλυκερώτερον Theognis 1225.
πήματι F. 13 6; πῆμα Theognis 872; 900.
ἀργαλέα F 13. 9; Theognis 832; 1214.
ὀπάζει F 13. 9; ὤπασεν Theognis 151.
μελιηδέος οἴνου F 13. 12; Theognis 475.
τελευτήν F 13. 14; Theognis 1075; εἰς δὲ τελευτήν 201; 607; 755.
ἀγλαός F 14. 2; Theognis 985; ἀγλαόν 785; 1008.
ὀρχησμοί F 14. 3; ὀρχηθμῷ Theognis 791.
φιλότητες F 14. 3; φιλότητας Theognis 860.
κραδίης F 14. 4; κραδίῃ Theognis 361, 1030.
ἀνίας F 14. 4; Theognis 344; 1337.
ἀλαπάζει F 14. 4; ἀλάπαξα Theognis 951.
ὑπὲρ μέτρον F 14. 5; Theognis 498; 501.
ὀπηδεῖ F 14. 6; Theognis 933.

Theognis is not the only earlier poet to compose such thoughts about wine. In the *Iliad*, the poet makes Hektor's mother tell the hero (6. 258, 261):

ἀλλὰ μέν', ὄφρα κέ τοι μελιηδέα οἶνον ἐνείκω,
. . . .
ἀνδρὶ δὲ κεκμηῶτι μένος μέγα οἶνος ἀέξει,

and in *Odyssey* the disguised Odysseus says to Eumaios and his comrades (14. 463-6):

. . . . οἶνος γὰρ ἀνώγει
ἠλεός, ὅς τ' ἐφέηκε πολύφρονά περ μάλ' ἀεῖσαι
καί θ' ἁπαλὸν γελάσαι, καί τ' ὀρχήσασθαι ἀνῆκε,
καί τι ἔπος προέηκεν ὅ πέρ τ' ἄρρητον ἄμεινον.

The emphasis in the latter passage on song, laughter, and dance is similar to F 12. 12-15 (ἀοιδῆς . . . χοροιτυπίης . . . φιλότητος). and F 14. 2-3 (ἀοιδαί . . . ὀρχησμοί . . . φιλότητες).

There is another parallel in *Kypria* F 13 Allen, where we read:

οἶνόν τοι Μενέλαε θεοὶ ποίησαν ἄριστον
θνητοῖς ἀνθρώποισιν ἀποσκεδάσαι μελεδῶνας.

It seems very likely that F 14. 1 οἶνος <δὲ>θνητοῖσι, θεῶν πάρα δῶρον ἄριστον was modelled on these lines. The fact that the early third-century historian Demodamas (428 F 1) claims that the *Kypria* was composed by a Halikarnassian suggests at least that the poem, or a version of it, was popular at Halikarnassos, thus increasing the probability that Panyassis was acquainted with it.

The thought οὐ γάρ μοι ζώειν (F 12. 9) resembles that of Mimnermos (F 1 Diehl^2) τίς δὲ βίος, τί δὲ τερπνὸν ἄτερ χρυσῆς 'Αφροδίτης; and Panyassis' use of ἐρατόν and ἱμερτῆς in consecutive lines (F 12. 14-15) reminds one of another fragment of Mimnermos, F 12. 2-3 Diehl^2:

ἱμερτὴν 'Ασίην νηυσὶν ἀφικόμεθα,
ἐς δ' ἐρατὴν Κολοφῶνα βίην ὑπέροπλον ἔχοντες.

Poets later than Panyassis also had similar ideas about wine and in some instances they have been indebted to the Halikarnassian poet. One example where borrowing seems certain is in a fragment of Eratosthenes (F 36 Powell = Ath. 2. 36e): οἶνός τοι πυρὶ ἶσον ἔχει μένος, εὖτ' ἂν ἐς ἄνδρας / ἔλθῃ. This is an obvious recollection of F 12. 12. The comic poet Euboulos may be elaborating on the three bowls of Panyassis when he describes the results of drinking ten bowls of wine (F 94 Edmonds, 2 [Leiden 1959], 124 = Ath. 2. 36b). Sentiments very similar to those of Panyassis are expressed by an unknown comic poet (*Adespota* 106, 107 Edmonds, 3A [Leiden 1961], 350 = Ath. 2. 36):

ὁ Μνησίθεος δ' ἔφη τὸν οἶνον τοὺς θεοὺς
θνητοῖς καταδεῖξαι τοῖς μὲν ὀρθῶς χρωμένοις
3 ἀγαθὸν μέγιστον, τοῖς δ' ἀτάκτως τοὔμπαλιν . . .
9 ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις τε ταῖς καθ' ἡμέραν
τοῖς μὲν μέτριον πίνουσι καὶ κεκραμένον
εὐθυμίαν· ἐὰν δ' ὑπερβάλῃς, ὕβριν,
ἂν ἴσον ἴσῳ δὲ προσφέρῃ μανίαν ποιεῖ.

These three fragments constitute almost two-thirds of the remaining lines of Panyassis and afford us our best opportunity for examining the language and style of the poet. An obvious feature is his use of Homeric language (see Stoessl, 875). McLeod (103-4) has made a

detailed analysis of words and phrases borrowed from Homer and Hesiod, and the following examples are taken from his list (with minor changes):

ἄγε δὴ καί F 12. 1; *Il.* 4. 418; 5. 718; 24. 618; *Od.* 21. 217.
νύ τίς ἐστι καὶ αὐτή F 12. 1; Hesiod *Erga* 764.
ἐν εἰλαπίνῃ F 12. 2; ἐν εἰλαπίναις Hesiod F 305. 3 M-W.
εὖ καὶ ἐπισταμένως F 12. 3; *Il.* 10. 265; *Od.* 20. 161; 23. 197; Hesiod *Erga* 107; *Hom. Hymn* 4. 390.
ἄλλον φῶτα F 12. 3; ἄλλοι φῶτες *Od.* 1. 355.
ὅς τ' ἐν δαιτὶ καί F 12. 4; ἐστ' ἐν δαιτὶ καὶ Hesiod F 274. 1 M-W.
θοῦρον Ἄρηα F 12. 6; *Il.* 5. 30; 35; 355; 830; 904; 15. 127; 142.
ἄλλον λαὸν ἀνώγῃ F 12. 8; ἄλλον λαὸν ἀνώχθω / -χθι *Il.* 11. 189; 204.
ταλασίφρονος F 12. 10; *Il.* 11. 466; *Od.* 1. 87 and eleven other passages.
ἐπιχθονίοισι(ν) F 12. 12; *Od.* 8. 479; 24. 197; Hesiod *Theog.* 372.
ἐπιχθονίοισιν ὄνειαρ F 12. 12; ἐπιχθονίοις μέγ' ὄνειαρ Hesiod *Erga* 822.
ἐσθλὸν ἀλεξίκακον F 12. 13; ἐσθλοὶ ἀλεξίκακοι Hesiod *Erga* 123 *var. lect.*[7]
ἀλεξίκακον πάσης F 12. 13; ἀλεξίκακος πᾶσιν *Il.* 10. 20.
τῷ σε χρή F 12. 17; *Il.* 7. 331; 9. 100; *Od.* 17. 417.
εὔφρονι θυμῷ F 12. 17; *Hom. Hymn* 30. 14.
κεκορημένον F 12. 18; κεκορημένοι *Od.* 14. 456.
πρώτην μέν F 13. 1; Hesiod *Theog.* 895; πρῶτον μέν *Il.* 6. 179; 23. 237; 250; 24. 791; *Od.* 21. 120.
καὶ εὔφρονες Ὧραι F 13. 1; *Hom. Hymn* 3. 194.
μοῖραν καί F 13. 2; *Od.* 11. 534.
Διόνυσος ἐρίβρομος F 13. 2; *Hom. Hymn* 7. 56.
ἀνδράσι γίγνεται F 13. 4; *Il.* 15. 490.
ἀπότροπος οἴκαδ' F 13. 5; ὑπότροπον οἴκαδ' *Od.* 21. 211; 22. 35.
πήματι κύρσαι F 13. 6; Hesiod *Erga* 691.
κακὰ δ' ἀνθρώποισιν F 13. 9; κακόν ἀνθρώποισι Hesiod *Erga* 223.
μνηστὴν ἄλοχον F 13. 11; *Il.* 9. 399.
δείδια γάρ F 13. 12; *Il.* 21. 536.
μελιηδέος οἴνου F 13. 12; *Il.* 18. 545; *Od.* 3. 46; *Hom. Hymn* 2. 206.
ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θυμόν F 13. 13; *Od.* 15. 486; Hesiod *Theog.* 239.
οἶνος . . . θεῶν . . . ἄριστον F 14. 1; οἶνον . . . θεοὶ . . . ἄριστον *Kypria* F 13. 1 Allen.

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[7] See M. L. West, "Hesiodea", *CQ* 11 (1961), 138-9.

θεῶν πάρα δῶρον F 14. 1; θεοῦ πάρα δῶρα *Il.* 19. 3.
ἐκ κραδίης F 14. 4; *Il.* 10. 10.

Certain other words and phrases are repeated from the earlier epic but in a different part of the hexameter (McLeod, 107):

πολὺ πλεῖστον F 12. 2 (2nd-3rd feet); πολὺ πλεῖσται / -οι *Il.* 15. 448 (2nd-4th feet); *Il.* 2. 577; 817 (3rd-5th feet).

ταλαπενθέας F 12. 5 (3rd-4th feet); ταλαπενθέα *Od.* 5. 222 (4th-5th feet).

χοροιτυπίης F 12. 15 (1st-3rd feet); χοροιτυπίῃσιν *Il.* 24. 261 (3rd-5th feet).

τριτάτης μοίρης F 13. 12 (2nd-4th feet); τριτάτῃ ἐνὶ μοίρῃ *Il.* 15. 195 (4th-6th feet); τριτάτην μὲν μοῖραν *Hom. Hymn* 2. 446; 464 (1st-3rd feet).

As McLeod indicates (108-9), this in itself does not constitute a departure from Homeric usage, since such changes in the position of repeated phrases are also found in Homer.[8] The same phenomenon is found in the poems of Hesiod.[9] McLeod concludes (109) that "in fact Panyassis exhibits no essential difference from Homer in his use of traditional language". This cannot be denied and indeed can be clearly seen from the detailed analysis of F 13 which McLeod makes (105-9), but it must be pointed out that not all of Panyassis' language is traditional (see Stoessl, 875-6). Even some of the words which McLeod cites can hardly be regarded as typically Homeric; for instance ἀλεξίκακος (F 12. 13) is found only once in Homer (*Iliad* 10. 20). Likewise χοροιτυπίη (F 12. 15) occurs only once, in the plural (*Iliad* 24. 261). LSJ gives only three later references for the word in the singular, all in *Anth. Pal.* (7. 448; 9. 82; 12. 253). Another example is the word ταλαπενθής (F. 12. 5) which occurs only in the phrase ταλαπενθέα θυμόν (*Od.* 5. 222), but it is found twice in Bacchylides, 5. 157 and 15. 26. In the second passage, the phrase ἀγγελίαν ταλαπενθέα shows the word in a meaning similar to that in Panyassis. ἐρίβρομος (F 13. 2) is found in *Hom. Hymn* 7. 56; 26. 1 and Anakreon F 20 Page, and may have been invented later than the Homeric poems. The word ἀνίαι (F 14. 4) does not occur in the plural in Homer but only in Theognis 344, and Sappho F 1. 3 L-P,

[8] For statistics see J. B. Hainsworth, "The Homeric Formula and the Problem of its Transmission", *BICS* 9 (1962), 57-68, and his subsequent book, *The Flexibility of the Homeric Formula* (Oxford 1968), Chapter IV.

[9] In this context McLeod (108, note 45) cites P. F. Kretschmer, "De Iteratis Hesiodeis" (diss. Breslau 1913).

where it is in the Aiolic form ὀνίαισι. The verb πλημύροντα (F 12. 19) is not found in Homer, but it does occur in Archilochos F 102 Diehl³, Bacchylides 5. 107, and later in Kallimachos *Hymn to Delos* 263 and, in epic, Apollonios Rhodios 4. 706. The word δυσφροσύνη (F 12. 16) does not occur in Homer, but, as we have seen, it is found in Theognis 1189. I have already discussed the word μενθήρης (F 12. 16) which is not attested except by Hesychios and *Etym. Magn.* 508. 6. The verb κοιμίζω (F. 13. 11) is stated by LSJ to be post-Homeric, the earliest instances of it being Sophokles *Ajax* 674, Euripides *Rhesos* 826, *Phoin.* 184 and Pindar F 139 (= 128c) Snell. The noun πότος (F. 13. 4) does not occur elsewhere earlier than Attic prose. These last two words may indicate the influence of early Attic writers on Panyassis (see Stoessl, 876). Another feature which suggests this is the use of the Attic form ὀρχησμός (F 14. 3) instead of the epic ὀρχηθμός (*Iliad* 13. 637; *Odyssey* 8. 263 etc.). The adjective ταλασίφρων (F 12. 10) is used by Homer only of Odysseus (with one exception, *Iliad* 4. 421), and so too by Hesiod *Theog.* 1012 and Alkman F 80 Page. The phrase θυμὸν ἀέρσῃ (F 13. 13) occurs only in Panyassis, and indeed the form ἀέρσῃ from an aorist ἄερσα of ἀείρειν does not occur elsewhere, the normal aorist being ἤειρα (*Iliad* 24. 590) or ἄειρα (*Iliad* 20. 373). Certain other words seem to to be neologisms. The word ἐνεόφρων (F 12. 11), "stupid", is not found at all elsewhere and is perhaps an invention of Panyassis.[10] συνοπηδός (F 12. 13) is not attested earlier than Panyassis, the earliest other example of it being in Telestes of Selinous (F 810 Page = Ath. 14. 626) who won a prize at Athens in 402 B.C. (*Marm. Par.* 65). It occurs twice in Plato, *Phaedrus* 248 C and *Sophista* 216 B, and in epic in Apollonios Rhodios 4. 745. Another probable innovation is the adverb ἀβλεμέως (F 13. 8), which occurs later only in the adjectival form ἀβλεμής in Nikandros *Alex.* 82 and [Longinus] 29. 1. Russell in his note on the latter passage calls it a very rare and poetical word.[11] In LSJ it is connected with βλεμεαίνω but is translated as "intemperately". The glosses in Hesychios are not of much assistance: ἀβλεμής: ἄτολμος, ἀτερπής, παρειμένος, κακός, and on ἀβλεμές: ἀσθενές, φαῦλον. None of these meanings is particularly suitable to the context in Panyassis. If we can assume that the connection with βλεμεαίνω is correct, and if we can translate the

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[10] Galinsky (*The Herakles Theme*, 25) calls it "a new mock-Homeric formation".

[11] Longinus, *On the Sublime*, ed. D. A. Russell (Oxford 1964), 148.

phrase σθένει βλεμεαίνων (*Iliad* 8. 337, etc.) as "with pride in his might" or something similar perhaps ἀβλεμέως could be taken to mean "without self-regard", "recklessly". At any rate, such a meaning would suit the context in Panyassis.

As can be seen from these examples, Panyassis is not a slavish imitator of Homeric diction. Rather he is an epic poet who, although thoroughly versed in the traditional language, is yet sufficiently original to employ untraditional words and even to introduce words of his own. The traditional epic language was, of course, the common property of all epic poets and the use of it is perfectly natural for Panyassis. As for his use of untraditional words and neologisms, perhaps this was one reason for the statement in the *Suda* that he gave new impetus to the dying epic: σβεσθεῖσαν τὴν ποιητικὴν ἐπανήγαγε.

These fragments also indicate that Panyassis has his own peculiarities of style. One such feature is a fondness for repetition, as in ἅμα τ' ἄλλον (F. 12. 3 and 8); ὅς τ' ἐν δαιτί (12. 4 and 7); μοίρης τριτάτης (F 13. 7) and τριτάτης μοίρης (F 13. 12); Ὕβριος αἶσα καὶ Ἄτης (F 13, 8) and Ἄτης τε καὶ Ὕβριος αἶσα (F. 14. 6). With these examples we can compare F 1 K and F 2 K. Sometimes the repetition is clearly a means of emphasis, as in F 12. 14-16:

ἐν μὲν . . . .
ἐν δὲ . . . ἐν δ' . . . .
ἐν δέ . . . .

and F 14. 2-4:

. . . . πᾶσαι . . . .
πάντες δ'. . . . . πᾶσαι δ' . . . . .
πάσας δ' . . . .

Another example of this emphatic repetition by Panyassis is F 16:

τλῆ μὲν . . . . τλῆ δὲ . . . .
τλῆ δὲ . . . . τλῆ δ' . . . .
. . . .
τλῆ δὲ . . . .

Close repetition of this type can be found in Theognis, as in 22-26:

. . . πᾶς . . . / . . . πάντας . . ./ . . . πᾶσιν . . . / . . . / . . . πάντεσσ' . . .

Panyassis is also very fond of alliteration, as can be seen from the following list:

πολὺ πλεῖστον . . . εἰλαπίνῃ . . . πίνῃ F 12. 2
θαρσαλέοι τελέθουσι . . . θοῦρον F 12. 6
βροτὸς . . . βιῶναι / . . . βίον F 12. 9-10
πίνει ποτόν F 12. 11
δαιτὶ δεδεγμένον F 12. 17
ποτε πήματι F 13. 6
αἶσα καὶ Ἄτης F 13. 8
μοίρης μελιηδέος F 13. 12
ἀλλὰ πιθοῦ καὶ παῦε πολὺν πότον F 13. 15
θνητοῖσι θεῶν F 14. 1
ἀνίας ἀνδρῶν ἀλαπάζει F 14. 4

These examples can be compared with others in Panyassis; κεράσας κρητῆρα (F 4. 1); θνητῷ θῆσαι (F 16. 3); καὶ Κράγος, ὃς κρατέων (F 18. 5); καταστέγασε Στυγὸς ὕδωρ (F 30). While similar alliteration is found in Homer (e.g., *Iliad* 16. 265 πρόσσω πᾶς πέτεται), it is not a dominating feature of the Homeric style, as it seems to be in this comparatively small sample of the work of Panyassis. Here again we see the influence of Theognis.

Another interesting feature is Panyassis' liking for words of similar endings in close succession, as in

F 12. 13: ἐσθλόν, ἀλεξίκακον . . . συνοπηδόν and
F 12. 13-16: . . . . πάσης . . . ἀοιδῆς·
. . . . θαλίης . . . ἀγλαΐης . . .
. . . . χοροιτυπίης . . . ἱμερτῆς . . .
. . . . μενθήρης . . . δυσφροσύνης . . .

Other examples of this occur in F 18 K. 2-3: νύμφην Ὠγυγίην, ἣν Πραξιδίκην καλέουσι, / Σίβρῳ ἐπ' ἀργυρέῳ ποταμῷ κ.τ.λ.

Also worth noting in F 12 is the chiastic arrangement in lines 4-8, giving the order A τε καὶ B (4-5) . . . BA τε (7). After introducing respectively the man who is swift at table and the man swift at war, the poet digresses a little on the latter, before returning to his subject, the man at the banquet, in 7-8. Ruijgh remarks that this chiastic arrangement is in harmony with archaic composition.[12] The

[12] See Ruijgh, *Autour de "Te Epique"*, 917, note 8.

amount of ellipse in line 4 is noteworthy. In full the Greek would be ὅς τ' ἐν δαιτὶ θοὸς ἀνὴρ ἔῃ καὶ ὃς ἐν πολέμῳ θοὸς ἀνὴρ ἔῃ.[13]

These fragments, therefore, show us that Panyassis was a competent epic poet, skilled in the traditional diction, but not lacking in verve and originality. If these fragments are a fair sample of his work, it is to be regretted that much more of it does not survive.

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[13] Ibid. For similar ellipses see J. D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles*[2] (Oxford 1954, repr. 1959), 518-19.

FRAGMENT 15 K

Text

Pausanias 10. 8. 9 (Spiro, 3, 121). Πανύασσις δὲ ὁ Πολυάρχου πεποιηκὼς ἐς Ἡρακλέα ἔπη, θυγατέρα Ἀχελῴου τὴν Κασταλίαν φησὶν εἶναι· λέγει γὰρ δὴ περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους,

Παρνησσὸν νιφόεντα θοοῖς διὰ ποσσὶ περήσας,
ἵκετο Κασταλίης Ἀχελωΐδος ἄμβροτον ὕδωρ.

Commentary

From this fragment we learn that Herakles "after crossing snowy Parnassos on his swift feet, came to the immortal water of Kastalia, daughter of Acheloos". To which part of Panyassis' account of Herakles' adventures can these two lines belong? In the version given by Apollodoros Herakles visited Delphi on two occasions. Firstly (*Bibl.* 2. 4. 12), after he had killed the children he had by Megara and also two of Iphikles' children, the hero came to Delphi and asked the god where he should live. The reply of the priestess was that he should live in Tiryns, serve Eurystheus for twelve years, performing ten labours, after the accomplishment of which he would be immortal. Herakles' second visit to Delphi (*Bibl.* 2. 6. 2) followed on the murder of Iphitos, whom he threw from the walls of Tiryns. Neleus of Pylos refused to purify him because of his own friendship with Eurytos and Herakles was finally purified at Amyklai by Deiphobos, son of Hippolytos. But in spite of this, he was afflicted by a terrible sickness because of the murder and inquired at Delphi about release from the disease. Then followed his attempt to carry off the tripod and the eventual oracle which told him that to obtain release he had to be sold and serve for three years, as well as paying compensation to Eurytos.

I think that it is likely that Panyassis, in his lengthy treatment of the Herakles story, would have included both of these episodes and it is difficult to decide to which of them these two lines refer. However, some suggestions are possible. The story of the fight with Apollo for the oracular tripod is early, being represented in Greek art

in the late eighth century.[1] In the sixth century it becomes one of the most popular of Herakles' exploits in Greek art.[2]

However, it is possible that Panyassis did not include a second Delphian episode. The fact that he did refer to Herakles' service under Omphale (F 17 K) cannot be taken as conclusive evidence that he also included the story of the struggle for the tripod, because there was another tradition as to how Herakles became the slave of Omphale. According to Sophokles (*Trach.* 274-8), after the murder of Iphitos, Zeus in anger sent Herakles out to be sold. A similar story was given by Pherekydes (3 F 82b) in which, on the orders of Zeus, Hermes took Herakles and sold him to Omphale. Both these writers were close contemporaries of Panyassis and the version of Sophokles is of particular interest since the tragedian is known to have been on familiar terms with Herodotos.[3]

But it also must be admitted that Panyassis could have attached the story of the struggle for the tripod to the occasion when the hero visited Delphi after the murder of his children, as did Hyginus (*Fab.* 32) and Servius (ad Verg. *Aen.* 8. 300).

Can the lines themselves assist us in any way in attempting to determine their place in the *Herakleia*? The fact that Herakles came to Delphi "after crossing snowy Parnassos" implies that he came from a northerly or north-easterly direction, and this would clearly suit if he came after the murder of his children in Orchomenos. On the second occasion, however, after the murder of Iphitos, his last recorded stopping-place in the version of Apollodoros, was Amyklai in the Peloponnese, from which he would not cross Parnassos in order to reach Delphi. Also, the words θοοῖς ποσσί could hardly be applied to a man labouring under a dread disease, although of course Panyassis may be using a mere epic cliché here. In spite of the rather inconclusive evidence, I am inclined to think (as did Müller, 1, 444) that these lines refer to Herakles coming to Delphi after the murder of his children.

Panyassis gives an unusual genealogy in making Kastalia a daughter of Acheloos and is our only source for it (see Stoessl, 885). The name Acheloos here may refer to the river, but in another

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[1] See J. Boardman in H. W. Parke and J. Boardman, "The Struggle for the Tripod and the First Sacred War", *JHS* 77 (1957), 276-82, Part II, 278. Cf. Huxley, 180.

[2] Boardman, *JHS* 77 (1957), 278.

[3] See Sophokles F 2 Diehl²; also Jacoby, *RE* Suppl. 2. 232-7.

fragment (F 28) Panyassis mentions Acheloos again, and there it is clearly another name for Ocean (see discussion on F 28). So too in F 15 Panyassis may be thinking of Kastalia as rising from the springs of Ocean (see Huxley, 180).

The language of Panyassis in these two lines is patently traditional. For Παρνησσὸν νιφόεντα we can compare *Hom. Hymn* 3. 282. The word νιφόεις is commonly applied to mountains, e.g., Κρήτης ὄρεα νιφόεντα *Od.* 19. 338; κατ' Οὐλύμπου νιφόεντος *Il.* 18. 616. For ποσσὶ περήσας we can look at Hesiod *Erga* 738 ποσσὶ περᾶν. The word ποσσί is often linked with words denoting motion in the Homeric poems, e.g., ποσσὶ βήσετο *Il.* 8. 389; ποσσὶ παρέδραμον *Il.* 23. 636; ποσσὶ θέειν *Il.* 23. 622; πόδεσσιν / ἔρχεσθαι *Od.* 6. 39-40. However, Panyassis' use of the adjective θοός is not found in Homer, where it is usually applied directly to persons or to things like ships and chariots.[4] For the word ὕδωρ at the end of a line cf. F 30 and frequent examples in Homer, such as *Il.* 16. 385, and *Od.* 4. 359.

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[4] R. J. Cunliffe, *A Lexicon of the Homeric Dialect* (Glasgow and Bombay 1924), 190, s.v. θοός.

FRAGMENT 16 K

TEXT

Clement of Alexandria *Protrepticus* 2. 35. 3 (Stählin 1. 26. 25-8). Πανύασσις γὰρ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ἄλλους παμπόλλους ἀνθρώποις λατρεῦσαι θεοὺς ἱστορεῖ ὧδέ πως γράφων·

τλῆ μὲν Δημήτηρ, τλῆ δὲ κλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις,
τλῆ δὲ Ποσειδάων, τλῆ δ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων
ἀνδρὶ παρὰ θνητῷ † θητευσέμεν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν,
τλῆ δὲ καὶ ὀβριμόθυμος Ἄρης ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἀνάγκῃ

† θητευσέμεν MSS θητευέμεν Stählin θητεύσαμεν Müller (1, 445) θῆσαι μέγαν Meineke (363)

ἀνάγκῃ correction by Dübner (18, citing Düntzer *Fragm. d. ep. Poes. Griechen* 1. 94) from MSS ἀνάγκης

COMMENTARY

Firstly, some attempt must be made to clear up the textual[1] problem of † θητευσέμεν. The line reminds one of *Iliad* 21. 444:

πὰρ Διὸς ἐλθόντες θητεύσαμεν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν

but Müller's adoption of θητεύσαμεν will not do in our fragment of Panyassis. The reading θητευέμεν is attractive in view of *Od.* 18. 357 ἐθέλοις θητευέμεν, and has generally been adopted by such scholars as Kinkel, Stählin, and Stoessl (886). However, Meineke (363-4) presents a strong case for his preference θῆσαι μέγαν. Firstly, we can compare another passage in Clement, namely *Strom.* 1. 107. 2 (Stählin 2. 69. 2) εἰκότως ἄρα καὶ ὁ Βοιώτιος Πίνδαρος (F 33a Snell) γράφει· "ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ γένετ' Ἀπόλλων," καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστὸν ὅπου γε καὶ Ἀδμήτῳ θητεύων εὑρίσκεται σὺν καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ "μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν." Then there is a passage in Plutarch, *Mor.* 761E (cited by Stählin in his *apparatus criticus* on the latter passage from Clement): λέγεται δὲ (i.e. Ἡρακλῆς) καὶ τὴν Ἄλκηστιν . . . σῶσαι τῷ Ἀδμήτῳ χαριζόμενος . . . . καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα μυθολογοῦσιν ἐραστὴν γενόμενον " Ἀδμήτῳ παραθητεῦσαι μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν."

The prevalence of the phrase μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν leads Meineke to suggest that Panyassis could have written ἀνδρὶ πάρα θνητῷ θῆσαι μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν. He says that the word θῆσαι would be very fitting

for Panyassis who liked rare words. In Hesychios we find ἔθησεν: ἔψαυσεν, ἐθήτευσεν (here ἔψαυσεν seems to refer to another gloss, ἔθιξεν) and θήσατο: ἐδούλευσεν.

Further evidence for the popularity of the concept of the μέγας ἐνιαυτός can be found in the fine note by Frazer on Apollodoros *Bibl.* 2. 5. 11.[1] In Apollodoros *Bibl.* 3. 4. 2 we read Κάδμος δὲ ἀνθ' ὧν ἔκτεινεν αἴδιον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐθήτευσεν Ἄρει· ἦν δὲ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς τότε ὀκτὼ ἔτη. This "eternal year" seems to be the same as the μέγας ἐνιαυτός and to refer to the period of banishment for homicide.[2] Now Apollo's service to Admetos was a punishment for homicide, an atonement for the slaughter of the Kyklopes (see Apollodoros *Bibl.* 3. 10. 4). Apollodoros says he served for a year, but Servius (ad Verg. *Aen.* 7. 761) states that the service was for nine years. It seems likely that Servius, or the source he was using, obtained his information from a Greek author and was confused by the word ἐννεατηρίς. This word, while literally meaning nine years, by inclusive reckoning meant only eight, as is shown by Censorinus *De Die Natali* 18. 4: "Octaeteris facta, quae tunc enneateris vocitata, quia primus eius annus nono quoque anno redibat". Hence, there was a tradition that Apollo served Admetos for eight years, a μέγας ἐνιαυτός, and Panyassis, in referring to Apollo in this fragment, may well have used the phrase.

To what episode in the *Herakleia* could these lines belong? It seems that someone is consoling Herakles for having to undergo service. This was suggested by Müller (1, 445); Dübner (18) and Tzschirner (63) share his opinion. The service in question is generally taken to be that under Omphale (cf. F 17 K), but there is another possibility, mentioned by Stoessl (886-7), which is perhaps more likely—namely, the occasion of the imposition of the service under Eurystheus which included the labours. That this was considered a form of servitude similar to that under Omphale is very clear from the language of Apollodoros *Bibl.* 2. 4. 12 Εὐρυσθεῖ λατρεύοντα ἔτη δώδεκα and *Bibl.* 2. 6. 2 τρία ἔτη λατρεύσαντι (Omphale). It is impossible to be certain of the occasion of these lines in Panyassis' poem. If

[1] Sir James Frazer, *Apollodorus* (2 vols. London and New York 1921), 1. 218-19.

[2] It also had a religious significance, as is indicated by the fact, that, before the reorganization in 582 B.C., the Pythian Games were originally held at intervals of eight years. Cf. the enneateric festivals at Delphi (see J. E. Harrison, *Themis*² [Cambridge 1927], 415 ff.; W. K. C. Guthrie, *The Greeks and their Gods* [London 1950], 80 ff.).

they refer to the Omphale episode, they could have been spoken to Herakles by Hermes who sold the hero into slavery (see Schol. *Il.* 21. 22; Apollodoros *Bibl.* 2. 6. 3; Hyginus *Fab.* 32; cf. Huxley, 180), or perhaps by Athena, Herakles' protecting goddess (*Il.* 8. 362-9). But if the service under Eurystheus is meant, the words again could have been spoken by Athena or perhaps by the Pythian priestess. The latter circumstance could be taken as a reason for the emphasis placed on the service of Apollo by the line ἀνδρὶ πάρα θνητῷ θῆσαι μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν which seems to apply particularly to Apollo, rather than to the other deities mentioned (even more so when θῆσαι μέγαν is read). There is another feature which might lead us to attribute these lines to the service under Eurystheus. This lies in the added "point" given to the line ἀνδρὶ πάρα θνητῷ θῆσαι μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν by the story in Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2. 5. 11) that Herakles completed the labours ἐν μηνὶ καὶ ἔτεσιν ὀκτώ, in other words in a "great year" (note that this account differs from *Bibl.* 2. 4. 12 quoted above). The speaker may be telling Herakles that Apollo endured for a μέγας ἐνιαυτός, and so should he. The service to Omphale, as we saw, involved only three years according to Apollodoros and also Herodoros (*FGrHist* 31 F 33), and only one year according to Sophokles (*Trach.* 253), and can never have been considered a μέγας ἐνιαυτός.

The whole fragment is very reminiscent of *Iliad* 5. 382 ff. Compare especially 383-4:

> πολλοὶ γὰρ δὴ τλῆμεν 'Ολύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες
> ἐξ ἀνδρῶν, χαλέπ' ἄλγε' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι τιθέντες,

and also τλῆ μὲν ῎Αρης (385), τλῆ δ' ῞Ηρη (392), and τλῆ δ' 'Αΐδης (395). Panyassis has repeated the Homeric τλῆ μὲν . . . . . . τλῆ δὲ . . . . . . τλῆ δὲ arrangement, but has concentrated his ideas into four very effective lines.[3] It is very likely that he was well acquainted with the Homeric passage and had it in mind when he composed these lines, especially since it contains a reference to Herakles (392 ff.).

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[3] An interesting comparison can be made with Horace *Epod.* 17. 65-9:

> optat quietem Pelopis infidi pater,
> egens benignae Tantalus semper dapis,
> optat Prometheus obligatus aliti
> optat supremo collocare Sisyphus
> in monte saxum.

Cf. Krausse, 66-7.

The mention of Demeter seems to be a reference to the time when she acted as a nurse for Metaneira, the wife of Keleos (see Apollodoros *Bibl.* 1. 5. 1; Hyginus *Fab.* 147). κλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις of course is Hephaistos, but it is not clear what his service was. It may be a reference to his fall from Olympos and his period among the Sinties in Lemnos (*Il.* 1. 590-4, a passage clearly known by Panyassis, cf. ἀπὸ βηλοῦ (591) with F 23 K). Another possibility is the time he spent with Thetis and Eurynome (*Il.* 18. 394 ff.) which was εἰνάετες (400), perhaps by inclusive reckoning a "great year". The reference to Poseidon is clearly to the service which he gave, together with Apollo, to Laomedon at Troy (*Il.* 7. 452-3 and *Il.* 21. 441 ff.). Panyassis seems to be placing greater emphasis on the service of Apollo than on that of the other deities, and this would suggest that something more than the service to Laomedon is meant, namely, the service to Admetos. Two references to this servitude have already been mentioned above (Clement of Alexandria *Strom.* 1. 107. 2; Plutarch *Mor.* 761E) and the story is also found in Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 1. 9. 15 and 3. 10. 4). This emphasis on Apollo may spring from the fact that his service under Admetos affords a closer parallel than that of the other deities to the service which must be undergone by Herakles, whether it be under Eurystheus or Omphale. But, for the reasons already discussed, the parallel is even closer if the fragment does refer to the labours imposed by Eurystheus, which Herakles must endure. Moreover, as has been suggested above, the lines could have been spoken to Herakles by the Pythian priestess, who would naturally emphasize Apollo. The final reference, to Ares, seems to be to the same occasion as in *Iliad* 5. 385-6, part of the passage which is likely to have been Panyassis' inspiration here. The occasion was Ares' imprisonment by Otos and Ephialtes, the sons of Aloeus.

The language of Panyassis too displays Homeric features, especially the epic epithets of the deities. κλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις is also found in *Il.* 18. 614 and in Hesiod *Erga* 70 and *Aspis* 219, and is a simple variant for the more common περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις found in *Il.* 1. 607; 18. 383; 393; 462; 587; 590; and in *Od.* 8. 300; 349; 357. All these examples occur, as in Panyassis, at the end of a line (cf. McLeod, 104). Similar parallels can be found for ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων, e.g., *Il.* 2. 766; 5. 449; 760; 7. 58; 10. 515; 24. 758; and *Od.* 7. 64; 17. 251; all of which occur as in Panyassis, at the end of the line. (There is also *Od.* 15. 410, where the phrase fills the second,

third, and fourth feet). The phrase also occurs three times in the *Homeric Hymns*, 4. 327; 7. 19; 9. 5 (cf. McLeod, 104). On the other hand, Panyassis' epithet for Ares, ὀβριμόθυμος, is not typically Homeric, being found only in *Hom. Hymn* 8. 2 and in Hesiod *Theog.* 140. The usual Homeric epithet is ὄβριμος, as in *Iliad* 5. 845. The words τλῆ μὲν . . . τλῆ δὲ, standing at the beginning of a line, have already been shown to be Homeric (*Il.* 5. 385; 392; 395). The phrase ἀνδρὶ πάρα θνητῷ is paralleled, in the same feet, in *Hom. Hymn* 19. 33. The form ἀνάγκῃ is found as the last word in a line often in the Homeric poems, e.g., *Il.* 11. 150; 12. 178; 14. 128; 15. 133; *Od.* 1. 154; 4. 557; 5. 154; 7. 217; 9. 98.

FRAGMENT 17 K

TEXT

(a) Schol. *Iliad* 24. 616 (ed. E. Maas, 6 [Oxford 1888], 479). αἵ τ' ἀμφ' Ἀχελώιον] τινὲς "αἵ τ' ἀμφ' Ἀχελήσιον"—ποταμὸς δὲ Λυδίας, ἐξ οὗ πληροῦται Ὕλλος—καὶ Ἡρακλέα νοσήσαντα ἐπὶ τῶν τόπων, ἀναδόντων αὐτῷ θερμὰ λουτρὰ τῶν ποταμῶν, τοὺς παῖδας Ὕλλον καλέσαι καὶ τὸν ἐξ Ὀμφάλης Ἀχελήτα, ὃς Λυδῶν ἐβασίλευεν. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ "νύμφαι Ἀχελήτιδες", ὥς φησι Πανύασσις.

(b) Schol. Apollonios Rhodios 4. 1149 (ed. C. Wendel, [Berlin 1935], 308). Πανύασις δέ φησιν ἐν Λυδίᾳ τὸν Ἡρακλέα νοσήσαντα τυχεῖν ἰάσεως ὑπὸ Ὕλλου τοῦ ποταμοῦ ὅς ἐστι τῆς Λυδίας· διὸ καὶ τοὺς δύο υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ Ὕλλους ὀνομασθῆναι.

COMMENTARY

This fragment clearly refers to the period which Herakles spent in Lydia as the slave of Omphale. That much is certain, but there must be considerable doubt regarding details, because there are clearly differences in the versions given by Schol. *Il.* 24. 616 and Schol. A. R. 4. 1149. According to the former, Herakles, having been provided during his sickness with warm baths by the rivers Acheloios (or Achelesios) and Hyllos, called his sons Hyllos and Acheles or Acheletes (the latter of whom he had by Omphale). The second version, that of the scholiast to Apollonios Rhodios, tells that Herakles in Lydia was healed of his sickness by the river Hyllos, and because of this he called his two sons Hyllos. Which version is that of Panyassis? The language of Schol. *Il.* 24. 616 suggests that only the last sentence εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ "νύμφαι Ἀχελήτιδες," ὥς φησι Πανύασσις can be taken to refer to the poet. Otherwise one would expect Πανύασσις δέ φησι, or a similar expression, at the beginning of the whole passage (cf. Schol. A. R. 4. 1149) or something like ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Πανυάσσιδι after the whole passage. Schol. A. R. 4. 1149, however, clearly attributes the whole story to Panyassis. Hence, it seems reasonable to accept that, according to Panyassis, Herakles was healed by the river Hyllos and called his two sons after the river. The reference by Schol. *Il.* 24. 616 need only mean that somewhere, in his account of Herakles' Lydian

adventures, Panyassis mentioned νύμφαι 'Αχελήτιδες, perhaps when Herakles crossed the river during one of his expeditions. This may be another example of the poet's tendency to display his geographical knowledge, cf. F 1 K and F 2 K (Bembina), F 11 K (island Aspis), and F 18 K (place-names in Lykia).

Herakles was afflicted with a sickness after the murder of Iphitos, in expiation of which he became a slave in Lydia. According to Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2. 6. 2 ff.) Herakles was told by the Delphic oracle that he would have release from his sickness *after* his period of servitude and after he had paid recompense to Eurytos; cf. *Bibl.* 2. 6. 4 μετὰ δὲ τὴν λατρείαν ἀπαλλαγεὶς τῆς νόσου. Tzschirner (64) remarks that Panyassis apparently did not follow this story, but tells of Herakles being healed by the river Hyllos. However, perhaps we should be a little suspicious of the story in Schol. Apollonios Rhodios. Croon, a scholar who has made a detailed study on the subject of hot springs, writes: "There is no evidence before 300 B.C. of hydrotherapy by hot mineral springs, and scarce evidence for the next two centuries. That later testimonies point to a much more ancient usage for medicinal purposes is a mere assumption".[1] This statement suggests that it is unlikely that Panyassis spoke of Herakles being *healed* by hot springs. More likely, he merely bathed and refreshed himself in them, cf. Schol. *Il.* 24. 616 where there is no mention of healing. The scholiast to Apollonios Rhodios may merely have assumed the healing in the light of practice in his own day. Hence in Panyassis, as in Apollodoros, Herakles may not have been free of the sickness until after his service.[2] Panyassis was certainly not the first person to mention warm baths in connection with Herakles, for they were commonly associated (cf. Aristophanes *Clouds* 1051). Diodoros (4. 23. 1; 5. 3. 4) tells that, in the region of Himera, nymphs caused springs of warm water to gush forth to enable Herakles to refresh himself. This story may have been given poetic expression by the local poet, Stesichoros. Also, Peisandros (F 7 K) makes Athena give Herakles warm baths at Thermopylai, perhaps after the capture of the Kerkopes who, Herodotos (7. 216) says, lived near Thermopylai.[3]

[1] J. H. Croon, *Mnemosyne* 20[4] (1967), 244.

[2] However, cf. Diod. 4. 31. 6, where apparently Herakles was cured when he began his service to Omphale, on the payment of a compensation to the sons of Iphitos.

[3] See also Diotimos F 2 (Kinkel, 213-14) for Kerkopes troubling Boiotian travellers. Cf. Huxley, 103-4.

Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2. 6. 3) tells that Herakles captured the Kerkopes at Ephesos during his service to Omphale, and it may be that the whole episode had been transferred from an original Thessalian setting to Lydia.[4] As well as the Kerkopes we find in Lydia: Malis, mother of Herakles' son Acheles or Akelos (Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀκέλης = Hellanikos 4 F 112); Lamos, a son of Herakles by Omphale, cf. Lamia; and there is also a possible relationship extending beyond the names between Ἀχέλης, Ἀχελήτιδες, and Ἀχιλλεύς (see *RE* 1. 1, 212, s.v. Acheles). Tzschirner (64) can hardly be right when he says that Panyassis is, without doubt, the first of the writers who told of Herakles and Omphale. Even if the *Herakleia* was published before Aischylos' *Oresteia* (perhaps) and Sophokles' *Trachiniai* (certainly), the story of Omphale must have been well-known even before the publication of Panyassis' poem. Its presence in Pherekydes (3 F 82b) and Hellanikos (4 F 112) argues against the belief that Panyassis was the first to introduce it. The placing of the adventures in Lydia must have been earlier than his time. The development of the Herakles myth in Lydia may have occurred in the reign of the Heraklid dynasty there (cf. Herodotos 1. 7 where the family is traced back to Alkaios, the son of Herakles by a slave of Iardanos). This name Alkaios may be another version of the name Acheles.[5] This dynasty ended with Kandaules around 685. Some scholars suggest that Kreophylos of Samos may have told of Omphale in Lydia.[6] It would be reasonable to date the Samian poet to the early seventh century.[7] But *The Sack of Oichalia* need not have contained an Omphale episode, since Herakles could simply have been said in the poem to have made war on Oichalia after Eurytos had failed to hand over Iole to him.

Another ruling family in Lydia also claimed descent from Herakles, as we learn from Apollodoros *Bibl.* 2. 7. 8 ἐξ Ὀμφάλης δὲ Ἀγέλαος, ὅθεν καὶ τὸ Κροίσου γένος, so perhaps the story may have had a sixth-century origin. Another argument against it being as early as Kreophylos is the fact that Peisandros apparently placed the Kerkopes episode near Thermopylai. The name Ἀγέλαος would again be a variant of the name Ἀχέλης, that is, the later ruling

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4 Cf. Wilamowitz, *Herakles*² 1. 73 ff.

5 See *RE* 1. 1. 212 s.v. Acheles.

6 Eg. Wilamowitz, *Herakles*² 1. 71 ff. and Herzog-Hauser, *RE* 18. 1, 387.

7 For the early date of Kreophylos see T. W. Allen, *Homer: The Origins and Transmission* (Oxford 1924), 47-8; G. L. Huxley, *Early Sparta* (London 1962), 125, note 339.

dynasty in Lydia traced themselves back to the same son of Herakles as had their predecessors.

It seems likely that the legend was spread to Lydia because it was identified with a local Asianic tale;[8] that is to say, Omphale can hardly have existed in the pre-Lydian version. Also, the genealogy given by Herodotos 1. 7, namely Herakles-Alkaios-Belos-Ninos-Agron, supports the belief that Herakles in Lydia was identified with Sandon, and belonged to the "Assyrian" religious system.[9] Hanfmann suggests that Omphale is perhaps a Greek translation of a native cult-name for some Ishtar-or Kubaba-like goddess.[10]

Who were the mothers of the two sons called Hyllos? The best-known Hyllos is, of course, the son of Deianeira (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 7. 8; Diod. 4. 36. 3; Sophokles *Trach.*, *passim*). Immediately preceding this reference to Panyassis, Schol. A. R. 4. 1149 mentions another mother of a Hyllos, namely Melite, daughter of the river Aigaios, who is also named as the mother of Hyllos in Schol. A. R. 4. 524; 540; and 1125. The same parentage is mentioned by Steph. Byz. (s.v. Ὑλλεῖς) citing Apollonios (4. 538), and by Schol. Sophokles *Trach.* 54. The fullest account of the circumstances is given by Schol. Apollonios Rhodios 4. 540-49a, (288 Wendel): Μάκριν τ' εἰσαφίκα <νε>: Μάκρις τὸ παλαιὸν ἐλέγετο ἡ Σχερία, ὠνομασμένη ἀπὸ τῆς Διονύσου τροφοῦ. ἔνθα φησὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα παραγενόμενον, τὸν τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ φόνον καθαρθησόμενον, Μελίτην τὴν Αἰγαίου τοῦ ποταμοῦ θυγατέρα γεγαμηκέναι, ἐξ ἧς ἔσχε τὸν Ὕλλον. The episode took place, then, in the course of Herakles' wanderings after the murder of his children and was placed in Scheria (Corcyra; see Schol. *Od.* 5. 34). Melite is also the name of an island in the Adriatic, north of Scheria, past "Black Corcyra" (A. R. 4. 571-2) and, according to Stephanos, the Hylleis (named from Hyllos, son of Melite) were a tribe in Illyria. We have no evidence that Panyassis told of Herakles in this region, and it is better that we leave the name of the mother of the second Hyllos undecided.

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[8] See G. M. A. Hanfmann, "Lydiaka", *HSCP* 63 (1958), 84.

[9] See Müller, 1. 456, and L. R. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford 1921, repr. 1970), 140.

[10] Hanfmann, "Lydiaka", *HSCP* 63 (1958), 84.

FRAGMENT 18 K

Text

Stephanos of Byzantion *Ethnika* s.v. Τρεμίλη (633, Meineke). ἡ Λυκία ἐκαλεῖτο οὕτως [οἱ κατοικοῦντες Τρεμιλεῖς] ἀπὸ Τρεμίλου, ὡς Πανύασις·

ἔνθα δ' ἔναιε μέγας Τρεμίλης καὶ ἔγημε θύγατρα,
νύμφην Ὠγυγίην, ἣν Πραξιδίκην καλέουσιν,
Σίβρῳ ἐπ' ἀργυρέῳ ποταμῷ † παρὰ δινήεντι·
τῆς δ' ὀλοοὶ παῖδες Τλῷος † Ξάνθος Πιναρός τε
καὶ Κράγος, ὃς κρατέων πάσας ληΐζετ' ἀρούρας.

<οἱ κατοικοῦντες Τρεμιλεῖς>· Ἀλέξανδρος (*FGrHist* 273 F 137) δὲ "τελευτήσας † τὰς δὲ τοὺς Τρεμιλέας Λυκίους Βελλεροφόντης μετωνόμασεν". Ἑκαταῖος (1 F 10) Τρεμίλας αὐτοὺς καλεῖ ἐν δ' Γενεαλογίων.

οἱ κατοικοῦντες Τρεμιλεῖς transferred to after the quotation from Panyassis by Meineke

1 θύγατρα MSS γυναῖκα Mein. (*Anal. Alex.* 368) δάμαρτα Niese, Schneider (*Zeits. f. Altertumsw.* [1849], 555, cited by Höfer, Roscher, *Lex.* 3. 2, 2924)

3 † παρὰ δινήεντι MSS παραδινήεντι Tzschirner (51-2) περιδινήεντι Schneider, Koechly (*Opusc. Phil.* 1, 237 = *Coniect. Epic.* 1, 18) βαθυδινήεντι Meineke, Huxley (*GRBS* 5 [1964], 30)

4 † Ξάνθος MSS ξανθός Schneider

Ἀλέξ. δὲ "τελευτήσας † τὰς δὲ MSS Ἀλέξ. δευτέρῳ "τελευτήσας [τὰς] δὲ Jacoby (*FGrHist* 273 F 137) Ἀλέξ. δὲ τελευτήσαντος δὲ Meineke Ἀλέξ. δὲ τελευτησάντων δὲ Müller Ἀλέξ. δὲ τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Τρεμίλητος τοὺς Τρεμιλέας Huxley (*GRBS* 5, 29)

Commentary

While it is not readily apparent that this fragment ought to be attributed to the *Herakleia*, most scholars have accepted that it should be, e.g., Stoessl (890-1), Müller (1, 534). Only two poems are attributed to Panyassis (*Suda* s.v. Πανύασις = T1a) and since the *Ionika* is said to have been written ἐν πενταμέτρῳ, in elegiacs, and these lines are hexameters, we might reasonably assign them to Panyassis' epic poem, the *Herakleia*. The best and fullest treatment of the fragment, especially of the text and the genealogy, is to be found in an article by G. L. Huxley (*GRBS* 5 [1964], 29-33), to which I am indebted for much of the following discussion.

The fragment lists the sons of Tremiles and Praxidike, who are all eponymous heroes of places in Lykia.[1] These people were the Tremilai or Termilai, named in their own inscriptions as *trm̃mli*.[2] They lived near Karia and we may consider it quite natural that Panyassis, being partly of Karian descent himself, would have had an interest in the heroes. Müller (1, 534) thinks that Herakles was described as having killed them in the lines which followed.

To begin with the quotation from Alexandros Polyhistor, it may well come from the second book of his *Lykiaka*, in which he mentioned Kragos as a son of Tremiles and Praxidike, apparently drawing on Panyassis (273 F 58). For the corruption in the text, Huxley's emendation is the most attractive. In the quotation from Panyassis, there is an obvious difficulty in the fourth line, since there is no conjunction linking Τλῷος and Ξάνθος. One solution would be to suppose a lacuna after Ξάνθος, running until Πιναρός τε in the next or an even later line. But we have other evidence for this genealogy, namely an inscription from Sidyma (*Tit. As. Min.* ed. Kalinka 2. 1 No. 174 = Polycharmos *FGrHist* 770 F 5) which refers to it as follows: τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶ[ς καὶ Τλωεῖς καὶ] Πιναρεῖς γενεαλ[ογίαν τὴν Τρεμίλο]υ καὶ Πραξιδίκης, ἐξ ὧ[ν] Τλῶ[ο]ς καὶ [Κ]ράγος καὶ Πίναλος ἀνῆκον κ.τ.λ. . . . κατὰ τὰς Πο[λ]υχάρμου καὶ ἑτέρων ἱστορίας. Only three of the four sons mentioned in the fragment of Panyassis are named—Tloos, Kragos, and Pinaros—and we may ask why Xanthos does not occur. We can find a suitable explanation from three articles in Stephanos. Firstly s.v. Κράγος we read (380, Meineke): ὄρος Λυκίας· Ἀλέξανδρος β′ Λυκιακῶν (273 F 58), ἀπὸ Κράγου τοῦ Τρεμίλητος υἱοῦ, μητρὸς δὲ Πραξιδίκης νύμφης, and s.v. Τλῶς (627, Meineke) πόλις Λυκίας, ἀπὸ Τλῶ τοῦ Τρεμίλητος καὶ Πραξιδίκης νύμφης. Stephanos obviously uses again here the genealogy given by Panyassis, and indeed his use of the word νύμφης recalls the νύμφην Ὠγυγίην of our fragment, and shows a close acquaintance with the text. However s.v. Ξάνθος (480, Meineke) Stephanos makes no mention of Tremiles or Praxidike. There we read: πόλις Λυκίας, Ἑκαταῖος Ἀσίᾳ (1 F 255) "παρ' ἣ Ξάνθος ἐξίησι ποταμός". ἐκλήθη δὲ ἀπὸ Ξάνθου Αἰγυπτίου ἢ Κρητὸς οἰκιστοῦ (ληστοῦ? Meineke). Hence Stephanos, while clearly knowing the genealogy given by Panyassis, does not

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[1] See Strabo 14. 3. 3-6, C 665.

[2] O. Treuber, *Geschichte der Lykier* (Stuttgart 1887), 20; P. H. J. Houwink ten Cate, *The Luwian Population Groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic Period* (Leiden 1961), 11.

call Xanthos a son of Tremiles and Praxidike; nor does Eustathios (ad Dion. *Per.* 129), who calls him a son of Lapaion. This evidence suggests that O. Schneider is correct in reading ξανθός in this fragment [3] and his reading is adopted by Huxley (*GRBS* 5. 30). A further indication that ξανθός is correct is the fact that in mentioning the Sibros in the third line Panyassis has already made reference to the river Xanthos, since Sibros is another name for it,[4] being perhaps the native name, while Xanthos, "yellow river", was the Greek name (cf. the Skamandros-Xanthos in *Iliad* 20. 74). Panyassis may be showing his acquaintance with both names by cleverly using the adjective ξανθός, which, although not a direct reference to the river, must inevitably suggest it to Greek ears.

The third line itself contains a major textual problem in that there are two prepositions with the dative Σίβρῳ . . . ἀργυρέῳ ποταμῷ. McLeod (104) compares ποταμῷ πάρα δινήεντι with ποταμὸν πάρα δινήεντα (*Od.* 6. 89; *Hom. Hymn* 21. 2), but there are not two prepositions in these Homeric examples, and we can hardly allow the phrase to stand in our text. The simplest change is that made by Tzschirner, who suggested παραδινήεντι, but there is no parallel for this form. περιδινήεντι is not attested either, the closest form being περιδίνης (*Anth. Pal.* 6. 23).[5] Hence it seems that we should accept Meineke's βαθυδινήεντι, as does Huxley (*GRBS* 5. 30),[6] since it is a word found in *Iliad* 21. 15 and 603. The rather awkward accumulation of datives may be compared with the multiple genitives in F 28:

πῶς δ' ἐπορεύθης ῥεῦμ' Ἀχελωίου ἀργυροδίνα,
Ὠκεανοῦ ποταμοῖο δι' εὐρέος ὑγρὰ κέλευθα;

Another word which has attracted critical attention is θύγατρα in the first line. Some scholars have objected to the idea that Tremiles married his own daughter, but there is really no basis for this objection (cf. F 25 K for the story of Theias and Smyrna). In any case, as Huxley suggests, θύγατρα may merely show that Praxidike's

[3] *Zeits. f. Altertumsw.* (1849), 555, cited by Höfer in Roscher, *Lex.* 3. 2, 2924, s.v. Praxidike.

[4] Strabo 14. 3. 5, C 665 calls it Σίρβις.

[5] A. Koechly, *Opuscula Philologica* 1 (ed. G. Kinkel [Leipzig 1881]), 237 = *Coniect. Epic.* I, 18, suggests περιδινήεντι and cites Kallimachos (F 147 Schneider = F 498 Pfeiffer) τῷ περὶ δινήεντ' Ἀκμονίδην ἔβαλεν. But Pfeiffer (with Schneider) takes περὶ with ἔβαλεν, a very common tmesis.

[6] However, in a later study (*Greek Epic Poetry*, 181) Huxley prints παρὰ δινήεντι.

father or mother had been named just previously. Another possibility, in spite of Meineke's denial (368), is that θύγατρα may go closely with Ὠγυγίην in the next line, meaning "the daughter of Ogygos". Indeed Panyassis may be referring to the ancient Lykian hero Ogygos, named by Stephanos s.v. Ὠγυγία (705, Meineke): λέγονται καὶ οἱ Λύκιοι Ὠγύγιοι ἐξ αὐτοῦ Ὠγύγου. λέγεται καὶ ἡ Βοιωτία καὶ ἡ Θήβη ἀπὸ Ὠγύγου υἱοῦ Τερμέρας.[7] Two scholars have suggested that Panyassis may have known the Boiotian story of Ogygos.[8] The *Suda* s.v. Πραξιδίκη surprisingly does not mention the genealogy given by Panyassis, but does give the following information (1. 4, 189, no. 2212 Adler): Μνασέας δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Εὐρώπης (*FHG* 3, 152, F 17) Σωτῆρος καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Πραξιδίκης γενέσθαι Κτήσιον υἱὸν καὶ θυγατέρας Ὁμόνοιαν καὶ Ἀρετήν, ἃς ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Πραξιδίκας κληθῆναι. Διονύσιος δὲ ἐν Κτίσεσιν (Dion. Chalkid. *FHG* 4, 394, F 3) Ὠγύγου θυγατέρας, Ἀλαλκομένειαν, Θελξίνειαν,[9] Αὐλίδα, ἃς ὕστερον Πραξιδίκας ὀνομασθῆναι.

The genealogy given by Mnaseas is clearly quite different from that of Panyassis and seems to be connected with the meaning of the name Praxidike, "accomplisher of justice", as is suggested by the names of the daughters called after Praxidike, namely Homonoia and Arete. These goddesses would seem to be similar to the Praxidikai mentioned by Pausanias at Migonion in Lakonia (3. 22. 2) and at Haliartos in Boiotia (9. 33. 3).

The reference by Dionysios of Chalkis to the daughters of Ogygos who were later called Praxidikai is suggestive of Panyassis' νύμφην Ὠγυγίην, but their alternative names indicate a Boiotian origin, which can be supported by the notice in Steph. Byz. s.v. Ὠγυγία .... λέγεται καὶ ἡ Βοιωτία καὶ ἡ Θήβη ἀπὸ Ὠγύγου υἱοῦ Τερμέρας. These Boiotian Praxidikai, daughters of Ogygos, are probably to be identified with those worshipped at Haliartos (Paus. 9. 33. 3), as Pausanias goes on to mention Alalkomenia as one of the daughters of Ogygos. Pausanias' words ἃς Πραξιδίκας καλοῦσιν are reminiscent of Panyassis' ἣν Πραξιδίκην καλέουσιν, and one might imagine that Panyassis knew of the Praxidikai, the daughters of the Boiotian Ogygos; so when he included in his poem a daughter of the

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[7] See Treuber, *Geschichte der Lykier*, 31.

[8] Höfer (Roscher *Lex*. 3. 2, 2924, s.v. Praxidike) and Wörner (Roscher *Lex*. 3. 1, 689, s.v. Ogygos).

[9] Perhaps the form Θελξινόη or Θελξίνοια should be preferred (see *RE* [zw. reihe] 10. 1622-3).

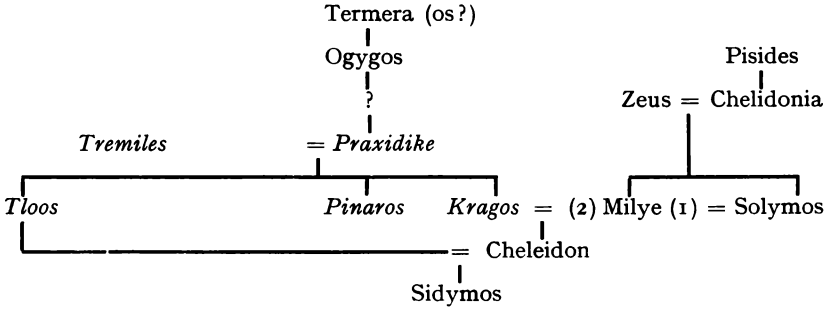
Lykian hero, Ogygos, he gave her the well-known Greek name Praxidike, which had become standard for the daughter(s) of an Ogygos.

One notable feature in the text is the feminine form τῆς in the fourth line. Why does Panyassis speak of the heroes as being the sons of Praxidike rather than of Tremiles? Some light may be shed on this question by the passage in Herodotos 1. 173: (οἱ Λύκιοι) νόμοισι δὲ τὰ μὲν Κρητικοῖσι, τὰ δὲ Καρικοῖσι χρέωνται. ἓν δὲ τόδε ἴδιον νενομίκασι καὶ οὐδαμοῖσι ἄλλοισι συμφέρονται ἀνθρώπων· καλέουσι ἀπὸ τῶν μητέρων ἑωυτοὺς καὶ οὐκὶ ἀπὸ τῶν πατέρων. εἰρομένου δὲ ἑτέρου τὸν πλησίον τίς εἴη, καταλέξει ἑωυτὸν μητρόθεν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τὰς μητέρας. Accordingly τῆς may well allude to a matriarchal element in Lykian society. Another possibility is that Panyassis is listing firstly Tremiles' sons by Praxidike, and went on afterwards to name the sons he had by another mother.

Huxley (*GRBS* 5. 31 ff.) has paid considerable attention to the genealogy and has succeeded in extending it, with every likelihood that the new names were mentioned by Panyassis in connection with this episode. Our first testimony is the inscription from Sidyma already mentioned, which calls Sidymos the son of Tloos by Cheleidon, the daughter of Kragos. The name Cheleidon is very fitting for a non-Greek heroine, as Huxley remarks, since the Greeks commonly compared the sound of foreign tongues to the song of the swallow.[10] The inscription may be giving the version of Panyassis. The name Cheleidon reminds Huxley of a passage in the Homeric scholia, namely Schol. *Od.* 5. 283 where Dindorf (2, 273) prints: ἐκ Σολύμων: τῆς Κιλικίας εἰσί. ὅθεν καὶ οἱ Σόλυμοι ὠνομάσθησαν ἀπὸ Σολύμων τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Καλχηδονίας, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος (F 69 Wyss) δηλοῖ (λέγει P). Κιλικίας here may be a mistake for Λυκίας. Examples of such a confusion occur in Steph. Byz. s.v. Πίναρα (523, Meineke), and s.v. Καβασσός (345, Meineke = Hellanikos 4 F 147), where Sturz wrongly emended to Κιλικίας. We also know from Herodotos (1. 173. 2) that the Milyai were formerly called Solymoi, and the land of the Milyai is nearer to Lykia than to Kilikia. One would not expect a heroine called Kalchedonia in south-west Asia Minor. The Solymoi are mentioned again by Stephanos, s.v. Πισιδία (524, Meineke): οἱ Πισίδαι πρότερον Σόλυμοι, ἀπὸ Σολύμου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Χαλδήνης. The name Chaldene is strange and Buttmann proposed

[10] See Aischylos *Agam.* 1050-1, with Fraenkel's note (Aeschylus, *Agamemnon*, ed. Fraenkel [Oxford 1950], 2. 477).

changing it to Καλχηδονίας to agree with Schol. *Od.* 5. 283, but the scholion itself is corrupt. Huxley proposes Χελιδονίας in the Homeric scholion and presumably also in Stephanos. Chelidonia would thus be the eponymous heroine of the Chelidoniai islands.[11] We might also read Χελιδονίας in *Etym. Magn.* 721. 43 (ed. T. Gaisford [Oxford 1848]): ἀπὸ Σολύμου τοῦ Καλδήνης τῆς Πισίου καὶ Ἄρεως. Πισίου here is generally corrected to Πισίδου (see Gaisford), in view of Steph. Byz. s.v. Πισιδία, and Pisides may be another name for our genealogy. We conclude then that Antimachos called Solymos the son of Zeus and Chelidonia, and the reference may well be to the *Lyde*, where the poet told of Bellerophon's war against the Solymoi (F 68 Wyss). Antimachos' story of the parentage of Solymos may have come from Panyassis. The fact that he often borrowed from the work of the Halikarnassian was well known, resulting in the ridiculous story that Antimachos had been the slave of Panyassis (*Suda* s.v. Ἀντίμαχος = T 3). One clear instance of this borrowing is the story of the birth of Adonis to Theias by his own daughter Smyrna (Panyassis F 25 K,and Antimachos F 102 Wyss). The two genealogies of Tremiles and Solymos are linked by Milye, the wife and sister of Solymos and later wife of Kragos (Steph. Byz. s.v. Μιλύαι [453, Meineke]), and the combination gives the following tree:



Only those in italics are known to have been definitely mentioned by Panyassis.

The significance of the genealogy is not clear, but it may have been designed to link together in myth some of the peoples of south-west Asia Minor, namely the Pisidai, the Solymoi, the Milyai, and Termilai, or it may have been made up as an explanation for the changes in the name of the Lykians, which are given by Herodotos 1. 173: τὴν γὰρ νῦν Λύκιοι νέμονται, αὕτη τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν Μιλυάς, οἱ δὲ

[11] See Strabo 14. 3. 8, C 666.

Μιλύαι τότε Σόλυμοι ἐκαλέοντο. τέως μὲν δὴ αὐτῶν Σαρπηδὼν ἦρχε, οἱ δὲ ἐκαλέοντο τό πέρ τε ἠνείκαντο οὔνομα καὶ νῦν ἔτι καλέονται ὑπὸ τῶν περιοίκων οἱ Λύκιοι, Τερμίλαι·[12] In view of νύμφην Ὠγυγίην Panyassis may well have called them Ogygoi.

As we have noticed, Panyassis' interest in the Tremilai may have arisen from the fact that he himself was of Karian stock and knew many Anatolian myths. Moreover there was a place called Termera in the Halikarnassian Peninsula.[13] However there is a possibility that the Tremilai entered the story of Herakles before the poet's time. Treuber refers to struggles between the Lykians and the Rhodians between the ninth and early sixth centuries.[14] We can also compare Schol. *Il.* 5. 639 (3, 263 Dindorf) φασὶ δὲ καὶ ἀεὶ Λυκίους Ῥοδίοις ἐχθρεύειν. The passage in *Iliad* 5. 627-98 which tells how the Lykian Sarpedon killed the Rhodian Tlepolemos, son of Herakles, can hardly be taken as a reference to attacks on Lykia by the Dorians of Rhodes.[15] It could just as easily refer to the Mykenaian period, when the Greeks made many attacks on south Asia Minor.[16] But there can be no doubt that the Dorians of Rhodes adopted the myth of Tlepolemos and recognized him as a son of Herakles. The story of a struggle of the Termilai, who were ruled by the earlier Sarpedon, brother of Minos (Hdt. 1. 173), with the Dorian hero Herakles, father of Tlepolemos, could have been part of the Rhodian development of this same myth. It is possible that the Rhodian poet Peisandros referred to this episode of the Tremilai. Herakles may have visited Lykia during or after his service to Omphale. But although we have little evidence for the adventures of Herakles in Lykia, there is a story that he killed Termeros, the eponymous hero of Termera, by breaking his head, as is told by Plutarch *Theseus* 11. 2: καὶ τὸν Τέρμερον συρρήξας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ τὸ Τερμέρειον κακὸν ὀνομασθῆναι λέγουσι· παίων γάρ, ὡς ἔοικε, τῇ κεφαλῇ τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ὁ Τέρμερος ἀπώλλυεν. That this Termeros had quite a reputation is seen from the phrase Τερμέρια κακά mentioned by Schol. Euripides *Rhesos* 509 (= Philippos of Theangela *FGrHist* 741

[12] Cf. Strabo 12. 8. 5, C 573 and Steph. Byz. s.vv. Πισιδία, Τρεμίλη, Ὠγυγία. See Treuber, *Geschichte der Lykier*, 20 ff.

[13] See Strabo 14. 2. 18, C 657; G. E. Bean and J. M. Cook, "The Halicarnassus Peninsula", *ABSA* 50 (1955), 147.

[14] Treuber, *Geschichte der Lykier*, 89-90; see also Friedländer, 14 ff.

[15] See D. L. Page, *History and the Homeric Iliad* (Berkeley 1959), 148 and 176, note 86.

[16] M. P. Nilsson, *Homer and Mycenae* (London 1933), 262.

F 3): κακῷ δὲ μερμέρῳ: μήποτε πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον μετέστραπτοι ἀπὸ τοῦ Τερμέρου, ἵν' ᾖ παρὰ τὴν παροιμίαν "Τερμέρια κακά", ὑπὲρ ὧν Φίλιππος ἐν τῷ Περὶ Καρῶν συγγράμματί φησιν οὕτως· "Τέρμερον καὶ Λύκον Λέλεγας γενέσθαι θηριώδεις τὴν φύσιν (τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Τέρμερον πόλιν οἰκίσαι, ἣν δὴ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Τέρμερον ὠνομάσθαι)· τούτους δέ φασι πρώτους ληστεῦσαι καὶ οὐ μόνον τὰ περὶ Καρίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ σχεδίας ἐκ ῥιπῶν ποιήσαντας εἰς Κῶ ἐκπλεῖν." The mention of Kos suggests that the encounter between Termeros and Herakles could have occurred in the story of Herakles sacking the island.[17]

The fact that Termeros was a ληστής is interesting in view of what Panyassis says of Kragos, ὃς κρατέων πάσας ληίζετ' ἀρούρας (F 18. 5), and strengthens the likelihood of a link between Termeros and the Tremilai.

Some features of Panyassis' language in this fragment have already been mentioned in connection with the textual problems. Others are worth noting. For instance, the poet's use of traditional epic language varies; the phrase ἔνθα δ' ἔναιε is Homeric, being found in *Od.* 10. 1 and 135 (in both instances at the end of the line); the word ὀλοός, "deadly", "destructive", while quite common in other authors, is used of persons, as here, only by Homer and Hesiod; but the verb ληίζομαι in the sense of "despoil" is found only in later writers,[18] but in Homer it is restricted to the meaning "to carry off" as in *Il.* 18. 28. For the participle κρατέων used absolutely, as an adverbial phrase, we can compare *Il.* 16. 172 μέγα κρατέων ἤνασσε. The word ἀρούρας would seem to be used in a similar sense to its usual plural meaning in Homer, namely "the fields", "the land", e.g., *Il.* 7. 421 and 10. 7 (on both occasions, as here, as the last word in the line).

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[17] Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 7. 1; Schol. *Il.* 1. 590; 14. 255.

[18] E.g. Herodotos (4. 112), Thukydides (1. 5), Andokides (13. 37).

FRAGMENT 19 K

TEXT

(a) Schol. Euripides *Alkestis* 1 (ed. E. Schwartz [Berlin 1891], 2, 216). Ἀπολλόδωρος δέ φησι κεραυνωθῆναι τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν Ἱππόλυτον ἀναστῆσαι, Ἀμελησαγόρας (*FGrHist* 330 F 3) δὲ ὅτι Γλαῦκον, Πανύασσις <δὲ> ὅτι Τυνδάρεων, οἱ δὲ Ὀρφικοὶ κ.τ.λ.

(b) Apollodoros *Bibliotheca* 3. 10. 3 (ed. Sir James Frazer [London and New York 1921], 2, 16). A list of people raised by Asklepios, probably a marginal gloss. [εὗρον δέ τινας λεγομένους ἀναστῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, Καπανέα καὶ Λυκοῦργον, ὡς Στησίχορός φησιν <ἐν> Ἐριφύλῃ (F 194 Page), Ἱππόλυτον, ὡς ὁ τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ συγγράψας (F 11 K) λέγει, Τυνδάρεων, ὥς φησι Πανύασις, Ὑμέναιον, ὡς οἱ Ὀρφικοὶ λέγουσι, Γλαῦκον τὸν Μίνωος, ὡς Μελησαγόρας (330 F 3) λέγει.]

(c) Philodemos περὶ εὐσεβίας 45b (ed. T. Gomperz [Leipzig 1865], 17). τὸν Ἀσκ[ληπιὸν δ' ὑ]πὸ Διὸς κα̣[τακτα]θῆναι γέγρ[αφεν Ἡ]σίοδος (F 51 M-W) κα̣ὶ [Πείσαν]δρος καὶ Φε̣[ρεκύδης] ὁ Ἀθηναῖος (3 F 35c) [καὶ Πανύ]α̣σ̣σις καὶ Ἄ[νδρων] (10 F 17) καὶ Ἀκουσ [ίλαος (2 F 18) καὶ] Εὐριπίδ[ης οὕτω] λέγει (*Alkestis* 3)· "Ζ[εὺς γὰρ κατ]ακτὰς πα[ῖδα τὸν] ε̣μόν".

(d) Sextus Empiricus *Adversus Mathematicos* 1. 260-1 (ed. J. Mau [Leipzig 1961], 3, 65). . . . οἱ ἱστορικοὶ . . . Ἀσκληπιὸν κεκεραυνῶσθαι λέγουσιν, . . ., Στησίχορος μὲν ἐν Ἐριφύλῃ (F 194 Page) εἰπὼν ὅτι τινὰς τῶν ἐπὶ Θήβαις πεσόντων ἀνιστᾷ, Πολύανθος δὲ ὁ Κυρηναῖος (*FGrHist* 37 F 1) ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἀσκληπιαδῶν γενέσεως ὅτι τὰς Προίτου θυγατέρας κατὰ χόλον Ἥρας ἐμμανεῖς γενομένας ἰάσατο, Πανύασις δὲ διὰ τὸ νεκρὸν Τυνδάρεω ἀναστῆσαι κ.τ.λ.

COMMENTARY

All of these references to Panyassis give us the same information, namely, that according to Panyassis, Asklepios was struck down by Zeus because he had raised Tyndareos from the dead. Clearly there are two possible situations in which Panyassis might have mentioned this: he was speaking primarily about Asklepios, or he was speaking primarily of Tyndareos.

Stoessl (878-9; 913) sees only the first possibility, links the reference with the story of Alkestis and even goes so far as to take it as

evidence that Panyassis told of the adventure with Diomedes, presuming that Panyassis also told of Herakles calling on Admetos on his way to Thrace (cf. Euripides *Alkestis* 483). This attribution could be correct, but Stoessl goes further than the evidence will allow. He suggests that Panyassis was the first to give literary expression to the story of Herakles bringing Alkestis back from the dead. He compares the drunken Herakles of the play (773 ff.) with Panyassis F 12 K and F 13 K, suggesting that Euripides is indebted to Panyassis, but as Van Lennep says: "... the Gargantuan Herakles has been a familiar figure on the Greek stage in comedy and satyr-play, ever since the sixth century B.C." [1] Also, as Dindorf discovered,[2] the *Alkestis* was produced in 438 B.C. as the fourth play, along with the *Kressai*, *Alkmaion in Psophis*, and *Telephos*, that is to say, it stood in place of the usual satyr-play, a fact which may explain the burlesque elements in the play (cf. the hypothesis of the Vatican MS τὸ δὲ δρᾶμά ἐστι σατυρικώτερον κ.τ.λ.). The story of Alkestis was also told by Phrynichos (*Suda* s.v. Φρύνιχος; Phryn. F 2 and 3 Nauck²), and since he is said to have produced his first play in 511-508 (*Suda*), it seems probable that his *Alkestis* would have preceded Panyassis' *Herakleia*. It is certain that Euripides borrowed from Phrynichos, for Servius (ad Verg. *Aen.* 4. 694 = Phrynichos F 3 Nauck²) tells that Euripides (*Alkestis* 74-6) introduced Orcus (Thanatos) holding a sword with which to cut off a lock of Alkestis' hair, and that he borrowed this from Phrynichos. We might also compare Herakles' description of his future struggle with Thanatos (843 ff.) with Phrynichos F 2 Nauck², which is usually assumed to be a description of Thanatos in the grip of Herakles. Certainly the more burlesque features of Euripides' *Alkestis* could more readily be drawn from Phrynichos and the comic tradition than from Panyassis.

In short, the fragment *may* refer to the Alkestis episode, but the mere mention of Asklepios by Panyassis does not prove it, any more than the mention of him by Apollodoros, (A)melesagoras, and Stesichoros proves that they too narrated the Alkestis episode. Certainly in (A)melesagoras and Stesichoros the contexts were

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[1] Euripides *Selected Plays* ed. D. F. W. Van Lennep, 1 *Alkestis* (Leiden 1949), note on line 773. Examples of this are 'Ηρακλῆς ὁ ἐπὶ τὸν ζωστῆρα and 'Ηρακλῆς ὁ παρὰ Φόλῳ of Epicharmos, also Ion of Chios' *Omphale*. Cf. Ar. *Peace* 741 ff.

[2] See the preface to his edition of the *Alkestis* (Oxford 1834).

very different.[3] If we accept that the reference is to the story of Alkestis, any supposition which we make can hardly go further than that Panyassis told of Alkestis being brought back from the dead by Herakles. Whether or not the hero was on his way to Diomedes must remain uncertain.

The second view of the fragment, namely, that Panyassis was speaking primarily of Tyndareos, has met with the approval of Müller (1, 534) and Tzschirner (70), who refer the mention of Tyndareos to the story of Herakles' expedition against Hippokoon and his sons. The story is found in Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2. 7. 3). Herakles, after taking Pylos, set out against Lakedaimon, wishing to punish the sons of Hippokoon because they had supported Neleus and particularly because they had killed the son of Likymnios. After killing Hippokoon and his sons, Herakles restored Tyndareos, whom they had expelled (see *Bibl.* 3. 10. 5), and handed over the kingdom to him. This story is also given by Diodoros (4. 33. 5-6) and by Pausanias.[4] Pausanias (3. 15. 3 ff.) mentions as a reason for the attack the refusal of Hippokoon and his family to cleanse Herakles after the murder of Iphitos and also tells us that Herakles was wounded and forced to withdraw in the first attack, but returned and slew Hippokoon and his sons. The story is old, being found in the *Partheneion* of Alkman.[5] If we can assume from F 19 K that Panyassis gave Tyndareos a prominent role, the epic poet may have been familiar with Alkman's poem, in which Tyndareos and his sons may have played a major part,[6] although, of course, Herakles must have been the central figure in Panyassis' account of the story.

Lacking further evidence, we can only say that this fragment may refer to the story of Alkestis or, perhaps with greater probability, to the story of the fight with the sons of Hippokoon and the restoration of Tyndareos (cf. Huxley, 186).

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[3] For the context in (A) melesagoras see Jacoby *FGrHist* IIIb (supplement), 1. 607 on 330 F 3; for that in Stesichoros see Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*², 100-1.

[4] Paus. 2. 18. 7; 3. 10. 6; 3. 15. 3-6; 3. 19. 7; 8. 53. 9 on the war of Herakles with Hippokoon and his sons; 2. 18. 7; 3. 1. 4; 3. 21. 2 on the banishment and restoration of Tyndareos.

[5] D. L. Page, *Alcman: The Partheneion* (Oxford 1951), interpretation, 26-33, text, 4-7 = F 1 Page.

[6] See Page, *Partheneion*, 32.

FRAGMENT 22 K

Text

Pausanias 9. 11. 2 (Spiro, 3, 23). ἐπιδεικνύουσι δὲ (i.e. οἱ Θηβαῖοι) Ἡρακλέους τῶν παίδων τῶν ἐκ Μεγάρας μνῆμα, οὐδέν τι ἀλλοίως τὰ ἐς τὸν θάνατον λέγοντες ἢ Στησίχορος ὁ Ἱμεραῖος (F 53 Page) καὶ Πανύασσις ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησαν. Θηβαῖοι δὲ καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγουσιν, ὡς Ἡρακλῆς ὑπὸ τῆς μανίας καὶ Ἀμφιτρύωνα ἔμελλεν ἀποκτιννύναι, πρότερον δὲ ἄρα ὕπνος ἐπέλαβεν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ λίθου τῆς πληγῆς· Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ εἶναι τὴν ἐπαφεῖσάν οἱ τὸν λίθον τοῦτον, ὅντινα Σωφρονιστῆρα ὀνομάζουσιν.

Commentary

One implication of this fragment is that Stesichoros and Panyassis must have given accounts of the slaying by Herakles of his children which were considered as the received tradition. The fragment also indicates that Panyassis told the story in a manner similar to Stesichoros, perhaps drawing on the work of the earlier poet (cf. also the story of Geryon, F 7 K). Unfortunately, we know nothing more of Stesichoros' version of the story.

From the language of Pausanias 9. 11. 2 (cf. 10. 29, where he tells that Megara was divorced by Herakles), it seems that Panyassis did not say that Megara was killed too, in contrast to the version given by Euripides in *Hercules Furens* (see line 1000 for the death of Megara). The tragedian also includes the story of the stone (1001 ff.), in a version which was apparently identical to the Theban story mentioned by Pausanias. This again indicates that Euripides was not following Panyassis in that tale. However, it is worthwhile to tell briefly how Euripides arranged the episode and to compare his version with other extant sources.

The action of Euripides' play takes place after the last of the labours, the fetching of Kerberos (23-5), and Herakles has gone to take the beast back to Hades. Lykos had become king of Thebes and wished to kill Amphitryon, Megara, and the children (38 ff.), but Herakles returned in time to save them. Euripides tells of Herakles going mad and thinking that he was fighting the family of Eurystheus (920 ff.). He shot his wife and sons, with the exception of one whose head he smashed with his club. Jebb calls the placing

of the murder *after* the labours a bold change of detail on the part of Euripides.[1] That poets could and did make violent changes in traditional stories can be seen in Pindar *Isthmian* 4. 61 ff. where the poet apparently rejects the story that Herakles murdered his children.[2] There can be little doubt that Euripides did make a radical change here and, of our other sources, only Schol. Lykophron 38 agrees with him in placing the event after the fetching of Kerberos. The scholiast's account tells that Herakles returned to Thebes and found Lykos ruling there and forcing himself on Megara. Herakles slew him and then was driven mad by Hera, with the result that he shot Megara and his children.[3]

Our other sources differ from the preceding in that they put the murder of the children before the labours and do not say that Megara was killed too. Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2. 4. 12) puts the murder after Herakles' victory over the Minyai. He tells that the hero became mad through the jealousy of Hera and killed his children, along with two of Iphikles' children, by throwing them into a fire. His subsequent labours under Eurystheus were by way of atonement. Nikolaos of Damaskos (*FGrHist* 90 F 13) also tells of the murder of two of Iphikles' children as well as of Herakles' own. He shows that the deaths took place before the labours and tells that Herakles would have killed Megara too, had not Iphikles intervened. He does not specify how Herakles killed the children. Diodoros (4. 11. 1) places the episode after the imposition of the servitude upon Herakles, but before he had embarked on the labours. Herakles fell into despondency and Hera made him mad. He tried to slay Iolaos, but failed, and then shot his children, thinking they were enemies. In [Moschos] 4, Megara and Alkmene are in Tiryns and Herakles has just started on the labours. Megara herself tells how Herakles went mad and shot his children (13 ff.). She wishes she herself had died too (29).

It is clear from these sources that the normal place for the episode was *before* the labours, and that is probably where Panyassis put it (cf. F 15 K, which may refer to him coming to Delphi after the murders to consult the oracle). It is also probable that Panyassis (and Stesichoros) did not include the murder of Megara. Tzschirner

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[1] Sophocles *The Trachiniae*, ed. R. C. Jebb (Cambridge 1892), xxii.

[2] See L. R. Farnell, *The Works of Pindar: Critical Commentary* (London 1932), 355 note on *Isth.* 4. 63.

[3] Schol. Lykophron ed. Ed. Scheer (repr. Berlin 1958) 2. 30-1.

(62) denies that F 22 implies that Herakles was mad in Panyassis' version, but surely the only implication of Θηβαῖοι δὲ καὶ τάδε ἐπιλέγουσιν κ.τ.λ. is that Stesichoros and Panyassis did not say that he was about to kill Amphitryon also. The story of the madness of Herakles was very old, being apparently included in the *Kypria*,[4] and must have been the normal tradition.

One interesting question is how, according to Panyassis, did Herakles kill his children? As we have noticed, two different methods are given in our sources: (1) he shot them with arrows (Eurip.; Schol. Lyk.; Diod.; [Moschos]); (2) he threw them into a fire (Apollod.; also Pherekydes 3 F 14). Herakles was, of course, a renowned archer, and this aspect was well-known to Panyassis (cf. F 6 K, F 20 K, F 21 K). But the story of the children being thrown into a fire is perhaps the older tradition, and Wilamowitz suggests that it may have been the usual literary tradition before Euripides.[5] Indeed there is even a reflection of it in Euripides' play. In that play, Herakles, absent in Hades, is presumed dead, and Lykos usurps the throne after killing Megara's father, Kreon (31-3). Fearing that Megara and her children shall one day avenge the death of Kreon (166-9), Lykos requests that logs be brought to Thebes on which to burn alive all of them—the children, their mother, and Amphitryon (240-6). That this is a reference to burning alive and not to mere cremation is clear from the words of Megara (284-6):

> ἡμᾶς δ', ἐπειδὴ δεῖ θανεῖν, θνῄσκειν χρεὼν
> μὴ πυρὶ καταξανθέντας, ἐχθροῖσιν γέλων
> διδόντας, οὑμοὶ τοῦ θανεῖν μεῖζον κακόν.

The story of the children being killed by fire may be compared with Herakles' own death on the pyre at Oita. There is no way by which we can discover how Panyassis described the murder of the children, but there is a possibility that he told of them being cast into a fire.[6]

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[4] See Proklos, *Chrestomathia* in *Homeri Opera* 5 (Allen) 103.

[5] Wilamowitz, *Herakles*² 1. 85.

[6] Jebb (Sophocles *The Trachiniae*, xiv) suggests that the story of the murder of the children may have been invented to explain why Herakles left Thebes, the home of his youth. He fled under the stain of blood-guilt but this could be excused as having been caused by Hera. Herakles' children were made the victims to explain the absence of any Theban nobles claiming descent from Herakles.

FRAGMENT 23 K

TEXT

(a) Schol. *Iliad* 1. 591 (ed. G. Dindorf [Oxford 1877], 3, 82). βηλός ἐστιν ὁ ἀνωτάτω τόπος τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ βεβηκέναι τοὺς θεοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας κεῖθι βαίνειν εἴρηται. . . . κοινῶς δὲ σημαίνει ὁ βηλὸς τὸν οὐδὸν τῆς θύρας, ἤτοι τὴν φλιάν· . . . . εἴρηται δὲ βηλὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ βαίνεσθαι, ὡς καὶ ὁ ὀδὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀδεύεσθαι. καὶ Πανύασις δὲ τὰ πέδιλα βηλὰ λέγει.

(b) *Etymologicum Magnum* s.v. βηλὸς (ed. T. Gaisford [Oxford 1848], 196. 34), βαθμὸς θύρας ἢ ὁ οὐρανός · . . . . καὶ ὁ Πανύασις δὲ τὰ † πεδία βαίολα λέγει.

† πεδία *Etym. Mag.* πέδιλα *Suda* s.v. βίολα. πέδιλα, ὑποδήματα.

COMMENTARY

As can be seen from the references, three forms of the word which Panyassis is said to have used for πέδιλα have come down to us: βηλά or βῆλα, βαίολα and βίολα. βῆλα is accepted as the true form by Müller (1, 535). G. Dindorf (in *Steph. Thesaur.* [Paris 1833], 2, 229) has βηλά and this is preferred by Dübner (19) and also Kinkel (263). The Homeric form βηλός suggests that βηλά is the proper form. Panyassis may well have misunderstood *Iliad* 1. 591, and thought that Zeus threw Hephaistos out of heaven by the sandal. It is unlikely that Panyassis used the word for πέδιλα on every occasion.

Speculation as to the occasion of his use of the word is not very rewarding. If it was used of Herakles, the idea of "sandals" would not fit very well with his normal attire of the lionskin. However, later writers greatly elaborated on Herakles' stay with Omphale, paying special attention to his dress, and perhaps we have here an early trace of this development. On the other hand, the βηλά may have had nothing to do with Herakles and may have belonged to some other character in the epic.

FRAGMENT 24 K

Text

(a) Apollodoros *Bibliotheca* 1. 5. 1-2 (Frazer, 1, 36). ὄντος δὲ τῇ τοῦ Κελεοῦ γυναικὶ Μετανείρᾳ παιδίου, τοῦτο ἔτρεφεν ἡ Δημήτηρ παραλαβοῦσα· βουλομένη δὲ αὐτὸ ἀθάνατον ποιῆσαι, τὰς νύκτας εἰς πῦρ κατετίθει τὸ βρέφος καὶ περιῄρει τὰς θνητὰς σάρκας αὐτοῦ· καθ' ἡμέραν δὲ παραδόξως αὐξανομένου τοῦ Δημοφῶντος (τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ὄνομα τῷ παιδί) ἐπετήρησεν ἡ Πραξιθέα, καὶ καταλαβοῦσα εἰς πῦρ ἐγκεκρυμμένον ἀνεβόησε· διόπερ τὸ μὲν βρέφος ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνηλώθη, ἡ θεὰ δὲ αὑτὴν ἐξέφηνε. Τριπτολέμῳ δὲ τῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ τῶν Μετανείρας παίδων δίφρον κατασκευάσασα πτηνῶν δρακόντων τὸν πυρὸν ἔδωκεν, ᾧ τὴν ὅλην οἰκουμένην δι' οὐρανοῦ αἰρόμενος κατέσπειρε. Πανύασις δὲ Τριπτόλεμον Ἐλευσῖνος λέγει· φησὶ γὰρ Δήμητρα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν. Φερεκύδης δέ φησιν (3 F 53) αὐτὸν Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Γῆς.

(b) Hyginus *Fabulae* 147 (ed. H. J. Rose [Lyons 1934], 106). Cum Ceres Proserpinam filiam suam quaereret, devenit ad Eleusinum regem, cuius uxor Cothonea puerum Triptolemum pepererat, seque nutricem lactantem simulavit. hanc regina libens nutricem filio suo recepit. 2. Ceres cum vellet alumnum suum immortalem reddere, interdiu lacte divino alebat, noctu clam in igne obruebat. 3. itaque praeterquam solebant mortales crescebant; et sic fieri cum mirarentur parentes, eam observaverunt. cum Ceres eum vellet in ignem mittere, pater expavit. 4. illa irata Eleusinum exanimavit, at Triptolemo alumno suo aeternum beneficium tribuit. nam fruges propagatum currum draconibus iunctum tradidit, quibus vehens orbem terrarum frugibus obsevit. 5. postquam domum rediit, Celeus eum pro benefacto interfici iussit. sed re cognita, iussu Cereris Triptolemo regnum dedit, quod ex patris nomine Eleusinum nominavit, Cererique sacrum instituit quae Thesmophoria Graece dicuntur.

Commentary

There are various accounts of the parentage of Triptolemos,[1] but apart from Apollodoros, the only source to name Eleusis as the father of Triptolemos is Hyginus (*Fab.* 147), though exactly the

[1] Pausanias 1. 14. 2 does not mention Eleusis.

same story is given by Servius (ad Verg. *Georg.* 1. 19) and by Lactantius Placidus (ad Stat. *Theb.* 2. 382) with minor changes of names. Rose, in a discussion of the three versions (182-4), concludes that Hyginus is the earlier and that he preserves the Greek names. In view of the fact that Eleusis is called the father of Triptolemos, it is possible that Hyginus' story has been taken from Panyassis.[2]

Rose, in his *apparatus criticus*, 107, thinks that Hyginus has misunderstood the story, asserting that most authors from the time of Homer called the king Keleos. Since the name Keleos occurs later in the story, Rose thinks that "Eleusinum regem" (or "Eleusium") is none other than "Celeum regem Eleusinorum". But the story in Hyginus is clearly quite a different version from that of Apollodoros, for Triptolemos is the child whom Demeter tries to make immortal, not an elder brother, and it is not the child who is killed, but his father Eleusis. Rose says that most authors make Triptolemos either an elder brother of the child, or a son of Eleusis, whom he calls "viri nobilis sed non regii". The last half of this statement seems rather extravagant, since, apart from Hyginus, our only source for Eleusis as the father of Triptolemos is the single sentence in Apollodoros, which does not tell us who, according to Panyassis, Eleusis was. There is no reason why he could not have been the king. Indeed, in Panyassis' version, Keleos may also have been a son of Eleusis, as he was in *Hom. Hymn* 2. 105. He may have been the elder son who took over the kingship on the death of Eleusis, and then, as Hyginus tells us, wanted to kill Triptolemos when he returned from his sowing. The reason may be found in Lactantius Placidus, who has "tanquam aemulum", instead of Hyginus' "pro benefacto".

Eleusis is also mentioned in Hyginus *Fab.* 275, where he is called a son of Mercurius. With this we may compare Pausanias 1. 38. 7, who says that some authors assert that Eleusis was a son of Hermes and Daeira, daughter of Okeanos. Panyassis could have been one of those authors. At least, he is our earliest source for Triptolemos as the son of Eleusis.[3]

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[2] For support of this suggestion see R. Rapetti, "Paniassi ed Eracle iniziato ai Misteri Eleusini", *La Parola del Passato*, Fasc. 107 (1966), 132-3; also A. C. Pearson, ed., *The Fragments of Sophocles* 2 (Cambridge 1917), 242.

[3] Van der Valk, *Revue des Études Grecques* 71 (1958), 164, thinks that Panyassis' version is given because it mentions a name different from the current version. In note 232 he suggests that Panyassis, as an inhabitant of Asia Minor, was less intimately acquainted with the details of Attic myths

Where can Panyassis have referred to this story? Stoessl (892) thinks that it was in the *Herakleia* and that it took the form of an *excursus*, with which he compares F 16 K. But the only real attempt to place it in its context is that made by Rapetti.[4] He refers the fragment to the story of the initiation of Herakles into the Eleusinian mysteries before he could be admitted to Hades to bring up Kerberos and cites several literary authorities to back up his argument. In Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2. 5. 12) we read that Herakles, before going to fetch Kerberos, went to Eumolpos at Eleusis, wishing to be initiated. He was not initiated until he had been cleansed by Eumolpos of the slaughter of the centaurs. Diodoros (4. 25. 1) tells that Herakles was ordered to fetch Kerberos, and thinking that it would be to his advantage, he went to Athens and took part in the Eleusinian mysteries, being initiated by Musaios. Reference to Herakles' initiation into the mysteries is also found in Xenophon *Hellenika* 6. 3. 6 when Kallias the Athenian says to the Spartans: δίκαιον μὲν οὖν ἦν μηδὲ ὅπλα ἐπιφέρειν ἀλλήλοις ἡμᾶς, ἐπεὶ λέγεται μὲν Τριπτόλεμος ὁ ἡμέτερος πρόγονος τὰ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἄρρητα ἱερὰ πρώτοις ξένοις δεῖξαι Ἡρακλεῖ τε τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀρχηγέτῃ καὶ Διοσκούροιν τοῖν ὑμετέροιν πολίταιν κ.τ.λ. and the story is also mentioned in [Plato] *Axiochos* 371 E: καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἡρακλέα τε καὶ Διόνυσον κατιόντας εἰς Ἅιδου πρότερον λόγος ἐνθάδε μυηθῆναι, καὶ τὸ θάρσος τῆς ἐκεῖσε πορείας παρὰ τῆς Ἐλευσινίας ἐναύσασθαι. The story was not confined to literature, for there are many depictions of it in art.[5] Clearly this story of the initiation of Herakles was well-known and Panyassis may well have told it in his *Herakleia*, but is the story in Hyginus *Fab.* 147, which Rapetti thinks is from Panyassis,[6] likely to have been part of the episode? If so, it was quite an *excursus*, since it apparently has nothing to do with the mysteries themselves but is concerned rather with Triptolemos and the establishment of the festival of the Thesmophoria. The content and tendency of the story in Hyginus does not appear to be directed towards an account of initiation into the mysteries. Where, then, and in what connection can Panyassis have told a story which seems

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and that since Demeter's connection with Eleusis was well-known, Panyassis represented Triptolemos as a son of Eleusis. He is surely under-estimating the mythological knowledge which epic poets in particular must have had.

[4] Rapetti, *La Parola del Passato*, fasc. 107 (1966), 131-5.

[5] For a discussion of this see G. E. Mylonas, *Eleusis and the Eleusinian Mysteries* (Princeton 1961), 205-12 and figs. 81-85.

[6] Rapetti, *La Parola del Passato*, fasc. 107 (1966), 132-3.

to be concerned with the Thesmophoria? Müller says "the statement that Ceres came to Eleusin [*sic*], the father of Triptolemus (F 24 K) was probably in the 'Ιωνικά" (1, 535). He gives no reasons for this opinion, but it may be correct. Certainly we can find the worship of Eleusinian Demeter in Ionia,[7] and indeed Farnell says: "In Ionia, at Ephesus and Mykale, the foundation of the 'Eleusinian' goddess was associated with the legend of the Attic foundation".[8] The Ionian colonization was, of course, the subject of Panyassis' *Ionika* (*Suda* s.v. Πανύασις = T1a). For a temple of Eleusinian Demeter, firmly linked to the Ionian colonization, we have the evidence of Herodotos 9. 97: ἀπικόμενοι δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῶν Ποτνιέων ἱρὸν τῆς Μυκάλης ἐς Γαίσωνά τε καὶ Σκολοπόεντα, τῇ Δήμητρος 'Ελευσινίης ἱρόν, τὸ Φίλιστος ὁ Πασικλέος ἱδρύσατο Νείλεῳ τῷ Κόδρου ἐπισπόμενος ἐπὶ Μιλήτου κτιστύν. κ.τ.λ. Strabo (14. 1. 3, C 633) tells of the worship of Eleusinian Demeter at Ephesos and Herodotos (6. 16) refers to a celebration of the Thesmophoria there. Bilabel, writing of cults at Miletos, cites Parthenios *Erot. path.* 8. 1: ἐν Μιλήτῳ Θεσμοφορίων ὄντων καὶ συνηθροισμένων [τῶν] γυναικῶν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ, ὃ βραχὺ τῆς πόλεως ἀπέχει.[9] Bilabel also refers to a temple of Demeter Θεσμοφόρος at Smyrna.[10] Strabo in his account of the Ionian settlements (14. 1. 3 ff., C 632-3) cites Pherekydes, but it is difficult to determine Herodotos' source for his statement in 9. 97. No one else mentions Philistos, son of Pasikles, in connection with the Ionian migration. Macan says that this notice is presumably taken from the work of some logographer on κτίσεις[11]. He goes on to mention Kadmos of Miletos, who is said to have written κτίσις Μιλήτου καὶ τῆς ὅλης 'Ιωνίας ἐν βιβλίοις δ', and Charon of Lampsakos, who is credited with κτίσεις πόλεων ἐν βιβλίοις β'. But surely another possible source for this reference in Herodotos is his own cousin, Panyassis, of whose *Ionika* the *Suda* says ἔστι δὲ τὰ περὶ Κόδρον καὶ Νηλέα καὶ τὰς 'Ιωνικὰς ἀποικίας, εἰς ἔπη,ζ'. This possibility becomes even stronger when we know that Panyassis told of Eleusinian Demeter and the Thesmo-

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[7] See M. B. Sakellariou, *La Migration Grecque en Ionie* (Athens 1958), 32; 82-9 (at Priene); 139-41 (at Ephesos); 214 (at Erythrai).

[8] Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* 3. 199.

[9] F. Bilabel, *Die Ionische Kolonisation* (*Philologus*, Suppl. 14 [Leipzig 1921], 97). See also Sakellariou, *Migration Grecque*, 69 and F.Cassola, *La Ionia nel Mondo Miceneo* (Naples 1957), 230-1.

[10] See Bilabel, *Die Ionische Kolonisation*, 212 and also Sakellariou, *Migration Grecque*, 233.

[11] R. W. Macan, *Herodotus*, bks. 7-9, 2, part 2 (London 1908), 794.

phoria. When Panyassis was describing the foundation of the colonies, the establishment of cults and temples would obviously have been included in his narrative, and he could well have given a brief account of the origin of such festivals as the Apatouria and the Thesmophoria. I feel that such an account of the latter festival was the probable source for the story in Hyginus *Fab.* 147, and was the occasion on which Panyassis called Triptolemos the son of Eleusis.

FRAGMENT 25 K

Text

(a) Apollodoros *Bibliotheca* 3. 14. 4 (Frazer, 2, 84). Ἡσίοδος (F 139 M-W) δὲ αὐτὸν (i.e. Ἄδωνιν) Φοίνικος καὶ Ἀλφεσιβοίας λέγει, Πανύασις δέ φησι Θείαντος βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων, ὃς ἔσχε θυγατέρα Σμύρναν. αὕτη κατὰ μῆνιν Ἀφροδίτης (οὐ γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐτίμα) ἴσχει τοῦ πατρὸς ἔρωτα, καὶ συνεργὸν λαβοῦσα τὴν τροφὸν ἀγνοοῦντι τῷ πατρὶ νύκτας δώδεκα συνευνάσθη. ὁ δὲ ὡς ᾔσθετο, σπασάμενος <τὸ> ξίφος ἐδίωκεν αὐτήν· ἡ δὲ περικαταλαμβανομένη θεοῖς ηὔξατο ἀφανὴς γενέσθαι. θεοὶ δὲ κατοικτείραντες αὐτὴν εἰς δένδρον μετήλλαξαν, ὃ καλοῦσι σμύρναν. δεκαμηνιαίῳ δὲ ὕστερον χρόνῳ τοῦ δένδρου ῥαγέντος γεννηθῆναι τὸν λεγόμενον Ἄδωνιν, ὃν Ἀφροδίτη διὰ κάλλος ἔτι νήπιον κρύφα θεῶν εἰς λάρνακα κρύψασα Περσεφόνῃ παρίστατο. ἐκείνη δὲ ὡς ἐθεάσατο, οὐκ ἀπεδίδου. κρίσεως δὲ ἐπὶ Διὸς γενομένης εἰς τρεῖς μοίρας διῃρέθη ὁ ἐνιαυτός, καὶ μίαν μὲν παρ' ἑαυτῷ μένειν τὸν Ἄδωνιν, μίαν δὲ παρὰ Περσεφόνῃ προσέταξε, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν παρ' Ἀφροδίτῃ· ὁ δὲ Ἄδωνις ταύτῃ προσένειμε καὶ τὴν ἰδίαν μοῖραν. ὕστερον δὲ θηρεύων Ἄδωνις ὑπὸ συὸς πληγεὶς ἀπέθανε.

(b) Philodemos περὶ εὐσεβίας 40a (12 Gomperz; see also R. Philippson, *Hermes* 55 [1920], 248). εἶ]τα τε [Ἀφροδίτην ἀν]αισ[χύντως ἐρᾶν] ἀνθρώ[πων ὡς Ἀδώ]νιδό[ς φασιν Ἀντίμα]χος (F 102 Wyss) κ̣α̣ὶ Π̣[ανύασσις] καὶ Ἡ̣σ̣ίοδ̣[ος (F 139 M-W) καὶ] πλείους ἄλ[λοι · · ·

Ἀντίμα]χος Vogliano, cited by Wyss (51) Καλλίμα]χος Philippson
Π[ανύασσις Philippson

(c) Hesychios s.v. Ἠοίην (ed. K. Latte [Copenhagen 1966], 2, 289). τὸν Ἄδωνιν, Πανύασις.

Commentary

One major difficulty concerning this fragment is deciding how much of the story given by Apollodoros should be attributed to Panyassis. Tzschirner (49) would assign to Panyassis only the version of Adonis' parentage (see also Stoessl, 892). However, Dübner (19) disagrees and expresses the opinion of Heyne (*Obss. ad Apollod.* 327) that everything told by Schol. Lyk. 829 about Myrrha was taken from Panyassis and that Lykophron himself followed

him. Lykophron tells that Myrrha was turned into a tree, from which was born Adonis. Schol. Lyk. 829 gives a story that is very close to the one found in Apollodoros. Myrrha was the daughter of Theias, the same name as given by Panyassis. When her deception was discovered, she prayed to Aphrodite to be made neither living nor dead; hence she was changed into a tree, named after her μύρρα, or in Aiolic, σμύρνα. From this tree was born Adonis, ὃν ἰδοῦσα ἐφίλησεν ἡ Ἀφροδίτη.

Frazer, in his note on *Bibl.* 3. 14. 3 (2, 84), asserts, without giving reasons, that the legend of the incestuous origin of Adonis is mentioned by Apollodoros on the authority of Panyassis. Thus, in his opinion, the whole story comes from Panyassis; but others have supposed that the story was a romantic invention of the Hellenistic age, but I shall, in what follows, argue that the tale was known to Panyassis.[1]

The reference by Philodemos indicates that Panyassis told of the shameless love of Aphrodite for Adonis, which could be a reference to the story in Apollodoros and Schol. Lyk. (cf. ὃν ἰδοῦσα ἐφίλησεν ἡ Ἀφροδίτη). Certainly it implies that Panyassis provided much more information than simply the parentage of Adonis. Some doubt may be cast on the authenticity of the reference in Philodemos because of the gaps in the text, where even the Π is uncertain (see Stoessl, 892). But F 102 Wyss shows that Antimachos, too, told that Adonis was the son of Theias, king of Assyria (the name is corrupt in the MSS, "Choantis", just as in Apollodoros, Θόαντος). It is likely that Antimachos is following Panyassis in this respect (see Wyss, 51). Since Antimachos obviously told the story of Adonis, it seems probable that Vogliano's Ἀντίμα]χος should be read in the text of Philodemos, not Philippson's Καλλίμα]χος, and since Antimachos is apparently following Panyassis in this story, it is natural that the names of the two poets should appear together in Philodemos. Hence, I think that there should be no hesitation in accepting Π̣[ανύασσις] in the text of Philodemos. The notice in Hesychios of the name which Panyassis called Adonis is also an indication that he gave an account beyond the mere mention of Adonis' parents.

There was great disagreement among the ancients about the parentage of Adonis. The main dispute is whether or not he was a

[1] See also Schmid, 40-3, and Van der Valk, *Revue des Études Grecques* 71 (1958), 164.

product of an incestuous union. Among the accounts that said he was not is that of Apollodoros *Bibl.* 3. 14. 3, where it is said that Adonis' father Kinyras went to Kypros and married Metharme, daughter of Pygmalion, king of Kypros. Schol. Dionys. *Per.* 509 (*FGrHist* 758 F 3a) gives the parents as Kinyras and Thymaretis, daughter of Pygmalion. Another version was given by Hesiod (F 139 M-W), who said that Adonis was the son of Phoinix and Alphesiboia. Among the sources for Adonis as the son of Kinyras by his own daughter Myrrha or Smyrna are Schol. Theok. 1. 109; Plutarch *Parallela* 22; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 10. 298 ff.; Hyginus *Fab.* 58; 164. Nonnos in the *Dionysiaka* twice refers to Adonis as the son of Myrrha (13. 460 and 32. 220). A short time before the earlier reference, he also mentions Kinyras (13. 451-2), who is not actually said to be the father of either Myrrha or Adonis, but Nonnos may well have thought that he was. The name Theias for Adonis' father is given by Schol. Lyk. 829; Antoninus Liberalis *Metamorphoses* 34; Eustathios *Iliad* 1168. 32; and *Etym. Magn.* s.v. Ἀῷος (= *FGrHist* 758 F 7), in addition, of course, to Antimachos and Panyassis.[2] Fulgentius (*Mitologiae* 3. 8), tells the story in a manner similar to Apollodoros,[3] but does not name the father and calls the girl Mirra. The confusion of the two names Kinyras and Theias may be linked to the story in Schol. Townl. *Il.* 11. 20 (5, 379 Maass) which mentions a Kinyras who was a son of Theias and king of Kypros.

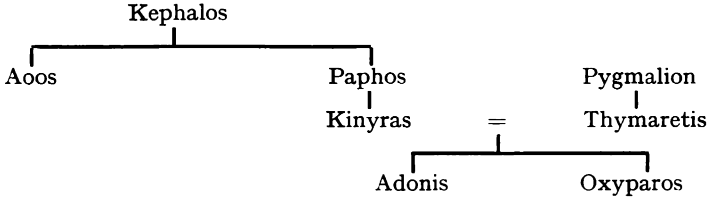
Antoninus Liberalis extends the genealogy found in Apollodoros by making Theias a son of Belos and a nymph Oreithyia, thus linking him firmly to the "Assyrian" religious system (cf. Omphale F 17 K). His account of the story is very complete, and it is notable that he combines certain features of Apollodoros 3. 14. 4 and Schol. Lyk. 829; for example, he mentions the nurse (not referred to by Schol. Lyk.) and even gives her name, Hippolyte. Yet Antoninus describes the prayer of Smyrna in terms very similar to those used

[2] The incest motif may indicate a Semitic origin for the Adonis myth. M. C. Astour, *Hellenosemitica* (Leiden 1967), 137, compares the story of the daughters of Lot (*Genesis* 19. 30-8) and of Tamar (palm tree) and her father-in-law, Judah (*Genesis* 38. 14-30). In view of this, the scepticism of W. Atallah and J. M. Cook concerning Panyassis' story of Adonis may be unjustified. See Cook's review of Atallah's *Adonis dans la littérature et l'art grecs* (Paris 1966) in *CR* 17 (1967), 77. They would like to believe that the story of the incest is Hellenistic.

[3] Cf. "crimine cognito evaginato eam coepit persequi gladio" and ὁ δὲ ὡς ᾔσθετο σπασάμενος τὸ ξίφος ἐδίωκεν αὐτήν.

by Schol. Lyk. (cf. ηὔξατο μήτε παρὰ ζῶσι μήτ' ἐν νεκροῖς φανῆναι, Ant. Lib. ηὔξατο . . . μήτε εἰς ζῶντας εἶναι μήτε εἰς θανόντας / ηὔξατο . . . εἰς ἑτέραν φύσιν μεταλλαγῆναι ἤτοι μήτε μετὰ ζώντων εἶναι μήτε μετὰ τεθνεώτων, Schol. Lyk.). The fact that Antoninus presents details which are lacking in the accounts of Apollodoros and Schol. Lyk. may indicate that his version is closer to that of Panyassis, and we can perhaps trace to Panyassis the names of the parents of Theias and that of the nurse.

The two main versions of this story both display a connection with Kypros. Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3. 14. 3) tells that Kinyras came to the island and married the king's daughter. Schol. Dionys. *Per.* 509 also refers to Kinyras as living in Kypros. Kypros is mentioned again by Antimachos (F 102 Wyss). The importance of Aphrodite in Panyassis' story also suggests a link with Kypros, and such a link is clearly established by the name which Panyassis called Adonis—'Ηοίης. As Latte says in his *apparatus criticus* (*Hesychios*, 2, 289), 'Ηοίης is an epic form of the foreign name 'Αῷος. This name is found in *FGrHist* 758 F 7 (= *Etym. Magn.* 117. 33): 'Αῷος· ποταμὸς τῆς Κύπρου. 'Αῷος γὰρ ὁ Ἄδωνις ὠνομάζετο, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ Κύπριοι βασιλεύσαντες (?). Ζωίλος δὲ ὁ Κεδρασεὺς καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ μητρὸς κληθῆναι· τὴν γὰρ Θείαντος θυγατέρα οὐ Σμύρναν ἀλλ' 'Αῷαν καλεῖσθαι. Φιλέας δὲ πρῶτον βασιλεῦσαι 'Αῷον, 'Ηοῦς ὄντα καὶ Κεφάλου, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ὄρος τι ὠνομάσθη 'Αώιον, ἐξ οὗ β' ποταμῶν φερομένων, Σεράχου καὶ 'Απλιέως, τὸν ἕνα τούτων ὁ Παρθένιος 'Αῷον κέκληκεν. We can see from this passage that, according to Phileas, Aoos was a name also given to a son of Kephalos, an ancestor of Adonis (see also Hesychios s.v. Ἄωοι; and Schol. Dionys. *Per.* 509 [= *FGrHist* 758 F 3a]). The genealogy is as follows:



The fact that Panyassis used the name 'Ηοίης for Adonis seems to indicate that he gave, or was influenced by, a Kyprian version of the story. Since he said that Theias was king of Assyria (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 14. 4), it is possible that he told of Adonis coming from the East to Kypros and establishing a dynasty there (cf. *FGrHist* 758 F

7: 'Αῶος · . ., καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ οἱ Κύπριοι βασιλεύσαντες).[4] As has been already noticed, Panyassis was interested in myths and legends outside the Greek world (cf. F 17 K, Omphale; F 18 K, Tremiles; F 26 K, Bousiris). That there was considerable interest in Adonis among the Halikarnassians is shown by the month-name Adonion, which probably indicates the existence of an Adonis cult in the city (cf. Huxley, 187). Interest in Kypros at Halikarnassos also is suggested by the claim of Demodamas that the epic *Kypria* was the work of a Halikarnassian (428 F 1).

It is difficult to decide which name Panyassis gave to the mother of Adonis. Was it Smyrna or Myrrha? Apollodoros calls her Smyrna, but he may merely be giving the more popular name. Schol. Lyk. 829 gives both names and this may well be what Panyassis did. Apollodoros could then have selected the better-known Smyrna, just as he chose the name Adonis, not Aoos or Eoies, which Panyassis also used (it is very unlikely that Panyassis called Adonis "Eoies" on every occasion).

In which poem, and in what context, can Panyassis have mentioned the story of Adonis? Müller (1, 535) says that if the fragment is from the *Herakleia*, not from the *Ionika*, we may also trace to Panyassis the well-known anecdote of Herakles refusing to recognize Adonis as a god. This story is found in several sources, e.g. Schol. Theok. 5. 21: φησὶ δὲ Κλεάρχος ἐν β' τῶν παροιμιῶν, ὅτι Ἡρακλῆς ἰδὼν ἱδρυμένον τὸν Ἄδωνιν ἔφη "οὐδὲν ἱερόν". οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἄξιον τιμῆς καὶ ἱδρύσεως ἔκρινεν. (See also Hesychios and the *Suda*, s.v. οὐδὲν ἱερόν.) It is possible that Panyassis told this story, but it cannot be confirmed. Heyne refers Panyassis F 25 K to the *Ionika* (*Obss. ad Apollod.* 327, cited by Kinkel, 264). Huxley (187) suggests that the erotic content of the story may be better suited to an elegiac poem (i.e., the *Ionika*) but points out that the story of Ares and Aphrodite, among others, in the *Odyssey* shows that such topics could also be found in epic. In the *Ionika*, a poem about the foundation of the Ionian colonies (see *Suda* s.v. Πανύασις), the poet may have described the foundation of Smyrna and the origin of its name (see Schmid, 42-3). For although the city is commonly regarded as Aiolian (Mimnermos F 12 Diehl²; Hdt. 1. 149-50; Paus. 7. 5. 1), there is a tradition that it was an "Ionian" founda-

[4] The name 'Αῶος or 'Ηοίης may indicate his eastern origin, meaning "man of the dawn". See Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, 156, note 2.

tion.[5] Strabo tells us (14. 1. 4, C 634) that the Smyrnaians left the Ephesians and marched to where Smyrna now is, which was then in the possession of the Leleges. Later these "Ionians" were driven out by Aiolians and fled to Kolophon, from which Smyrna was later recaptured by Ionians.[6] Panyassis could have described the original "Ionian" foundation, or, perhaps, the recapture of the city by the Ionians from Kolophon. For another possible mythological digression in the *Ionika*, we can compare F 24 K on the origin of the Thesmophoria.

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[5] H. F. Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici* (Oxford 1834), 1. 105-6, note 12.

[6] For the Ionian capture of Smyrna see Mimnermos F 12 Diehl²; Herodotos 1. 16; 149-50; Pausanias 7. 5. 1.

FRAGMENT 26 K

Text

Athenaios 4. 172d (Kaibel, 1, 387). πεμμάτων δὲ πρῶτόν φησιν μνημονεῦσαι Πανύασσιν Σέλευκος, ἐν οἷς περὶ τῆς παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἀνθρωποθυσίας διηγεῖται, πολλὰ μὲν ἐπιθεῖναι λέγων πέμματα, πολλὰς δὲ νοσσάδας ὄρνις, προτέρου Στησιχόρου (F 179 Page) ἢ Ἰβύκου ἐν τοῖς Ἄθλοις ἐπιγραφομένοις εἰρηκότος κ.τ.λ.

Meineke (368) restores the hexameter as follows:

πέμματα πόλλ' ἐπιθείς, πολλὰς δέ τε νοσσάδας ὄρνις.

Commentary

This fragment shows the grammarian Seleukos [1] making reference to a word used by Panyassis in an account of human sacrifices in Egypt. The allusion must surely be to the story of the attempted sacrifice of Herakles by Bousiris which is told by Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2. 5. 11). Herakles passed through Egypt on his way to fetch the golden apples, which, according to Apollodoros, were "on Atlas among the Hyperboreans". Bousiris was a son of Poseidon by Lysianassa, daughter of Epaphos, and was king in Egypt. In order to end a nine-year dearth in the land, it was his policy to sacrifice a stranger to Zeus every year. When Herakles arrived, he was seized, but at the altar he broke his bonds and slew Bousiris and his son Amphidamas. A very similar story is told by Pherekydes (3 F 17), except that the son is there called Iphidamas, and Herakles is said to have killed also a herald Chalbes and some attendants. The killing of Bousiris by Herakles is also mentioned by Diodoros 4. 18. 1; 27. 2-3; Plutarch *Parallela* 38; Ovid *Metamorphoses* 9. 182 ff.; Hyginus *Fab.* 31; Servius, ad Verg. *Aen.* 8. 299 and *Georg.* 3. 5; Lactantius Placidus, ad Stat. *Theb.* 12. 155. Most of these later references, including that by Apollodoros, are apparently based on the account of Pherekydes, as is shown by the mention of the nine-year famine and other details. Herodotos (2. 45) denies the

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[1] Seleukos of Alexandria, known as Ὁμηρικός. He was contemporary with Tiberius (see *FGrHist* 341 T 1 and 2, with Jacoby's commentary). The word πέμματα may have been discussed in his glossary Περὶ Ἑλληνισμοῦ (cf. Ath. 4. 114b).

truth of the story, though he does not name Bousiris: λέγουσι δὲ πολλὰ καὶ ἄλλα ἀνεπισκέπτως οἱ Ἕλληνες, εὐήθης δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὅδε ὁ μῦθός ἐστι τὸν περὶ τοῦ Ἡρακλέος λέγουσι, ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπικόμενον ἐς Αἴγυπτον στέψαντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ὑπὸ πομπῆς ἐξῆγον ὡς θύσοντες τῷ Διί· τὸν δὲ τέως μὲν ἡσυχίην ἔχειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ κατάρχοντο, ἐς ἀλκὴν τραπόμενον πάντας σφέας καταφονεῦσαι. Herodotos goes on to say that this shows the Greeks to be completely ignorant of the nature and customs of the Egyptians. It need not surprise us that this stricture should be directed against authors among whom was his kinsman Panyassis, though his main target could be Pherekydes.[2] Herodotos, the father of anthropology no less than of history, is of course interested in producing an account of the life of the Egyptians and did not feel bound to report every tale. Panyassis, the epic poet, on the other hand, is interested in any story that will enhance his epic, without serious consideration of its accuracy, historical or otherwise, and often, as here, he ranged beyond the Greek world (cf. F 17 K, Omphale; F 18 K, Tremiles). The detail given by Herodotos—that Herakles at first went quietly, and then, when they were beginning the sacrifice, suddenly exerted himself and slew them all—does not occur in Apollodoros and could have been taken from Panyassis.

The story was a popular one and was made into a satyr play by Euripides.[3] In art, it does not seem to have become really popular until the second quarter of the fifth century.[4] The story was not often depicted on black-figure vases, though the earliest representation of it is on a vase fragment from Selinous by the Heidelberg painter around the middle of the sixth century.[5] The story seems to have become more popular on red-figure vases of the second quarter of the fifth century.[6] Panyassis was then at work and the poet may be reflecting the current popularity of the story by including it in his epic.

Athenaios cites Seleukos as saying that Panyassis was the first to mention the word πέμματα. He goes on to show that it occurred

[2] See Jacoby on 3 F 17; J. P. Barron *JHS* 84 (1964), 46, note 65: Huxley, 178.

[3] See Nauck², 452 ff.

[4] See the list in F. Brommer, *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*² (Marburg 1960), 26-7.

[5] J. D. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure Vase-Painters* (Oxford 1956), 64, no. 11; see also J. D. Beazley, "Amasea", *JHS* 51 (1931), 256-85, 278, fig. 28.

[6] E.g. J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters*² (Oxford 1963), 1. 574, no. 9 by the Agrigento painter; 554, no. 41 by the Pan painter.

earlier in the *Athla* of Stesichoros, a poem on the funeral games for Pelias. Presumably Stesichoros used it in a description of a feast in this poem.[7] Panyassis, who obviously knew the work of Stesichoros (cf. F 4 K; F 7 K), may have borrowed the word from him. He is probably describing the offerings which the priest placed on the altar before the attempted sacrifice of Herakles. The word πέμματα is also used for sacrificial cakes in Herodotos 1. 160, and perhaps also in 1. 132, where Valckenaer proposed πέμμασι for στέμμασι.

Another unusual word used by Panyassis in this fragment is νοσσάδας, found elsewhere only in a comic fragment on a papyrus of mid-third century B.C. (*P. Hib.* 2. 181, 13). From a nominative νοσσάς, rendered by LSJ (suppl.) as "chicken", it would seem to be a variant form of νεοσσίς -ίδος (νεοττ-), a word used by Aristotle *Hist. An.* 559 B 23, presumably as a diminutive of νεοσσός, a young bird or chick, as in *Iliad* 2. 311; 9. 323; Sophokles *Ant.* 425. Herodotos (2. 68) uses νεοσσός of a young crocodile.[8]

The accusative plural form ὄρνῖς for (the more common) ὄρνεις is also found in Euripides *Hipp.* 1059; Aristophanes *Birds* 717; 1250; 1610. But the only accusative form in the Homeric poems is ὄρνιθας (e.g. *Il.* 2. 764; *Od.* 2. 155; 159; 12. 331). This may suggest that the word ὄρνις may have crept into the text of Athenaios as a gloss for the unusual νοσσάδας. However Meineke's restoration of the hexameter has generally been accepted (by e.g. Kinkel and Huxley, 178).[9]

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[7] Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*², 102.

[8] L. Robert, *Noms Indigenes dans l'Asie-Mineure Gréco-Romaine* (Paris 1963) 1. 60, discussing personal names meaning "young bird", "chick", cites, among other examples, Νόσσος *CIG* 2661; *SEG* 4. 172 (Halikarnassos); Λάμπων Νόσσου 'Αλικαρνασσεύς (A. Maiuri, *Nuova Silloge Epigraphica di Rodi e Cos* [Firenze 1925], 543); Νοσσίς *CIG* 2661 b (Halikarnassos). He says that the principal zone for diffusion of the name is the Ionian and Dorian towns of the coast of Ionia and Karia, with Halikarnassos, Myndos, Iasos, Miletos, Kos, Astypalaia. This indicates that Panyassis, in using νοσσάς, may have been employing a colloquial word from his native area.

[9] Ruijgh, *Autour de "Te Épique"*, 917, note 8, suggests that Meineke's restoration be rejected on the grounds that the use of δέ τε is irregular, but could not it simply be equivalent to δέ? Cf. West *Hesiod*: *"Theogony"*, 349, note on 688, and Denniston, *Greek Particles*², 531.

FRAGMENT 27

TEXT

Clement of Alexandria *Stromateis* 6. 2. 25 (Stählin 2. 442. 6). . . . αὐτοτελῶς γὰρ τὰ ἑτέρων ὑφελόμενα ὡς ἴδια ἐξήνεγκαν, καθάπερ Εὐγάμμων ὁ Κυρηναῖος ἐκ Μουσαίου τὸ περὶ Θεσπρωτῶν βιβλίον ὁλόκληρον καὶ Πείσανδρος <ὁ> Καμιρεὺς Πεισίνου τοῦ Λινδίου τὴν Ἡράκλειαν, Πανύασίς τε ὁ Ἁλικαρνασσεὺς παρὰ Κρεωφύλου τοῦ Σαμίου τὴν Οἰχαλίας ἅλωσιν.

COMMENTARY

There is no means whereby we can prove or disprove Clement's charge of plagiarism against Panyassis. Clement makes a similar charge against Eumelos, namely, that he turned the work of Hesiod into prose and passed it off as his own, and certainly little weight can be placed on that allegation (see Kinkel, 186). In the case of Panyassis, we should perhaps disbelieve the charge as it stands and suppose rather that Panyassis dealt with the capture of Oichalia in his *Herakleia*, and it is possible that his treatment of the story may have owed something to Kreophylos (cf. Huxley, 178). His stay in Samos makes it more likely that he was acquainted with the work of the Samian poet.

If this is so, Panyassis is likely to have followed Kreophylos in making the Oichalia which Herakles sacked, the city in Euboia.[1] This was a common version of the story, being also given by Sophokles (*Trach.* 237; 750-4), by Hekataios (1 F 28 = Paus. 4. 2. 3), and by Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2. 6. 1-2; 2. 7. 7). Homer (*Il.* 2. 730) seems to place it in Thessaly, while others said it was in Arkadia.[2] The story was that Eurytos, the king of Oichalia, promised the hand of his daughter Iole to the man who could defeat himself and his sons in archery. Herakles took up the challenge, but, although he outshot Eurytos and his sons, he did not receive his prize (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 6. 1). Later he returned to sack the city, killing Eurytos and his sons and taking Iole captive (2. 7. 7). Three fragments of Panyassis may come from the description of a banquet at the house

[1] Paus. 4. 2. 3 = *Oech. Excid.* F 2 K = F 2 Allen.
[2] Strabo 9. 5. 17, C 438.

of Eurytos (F 12-14 K), with which we may compare the reference in Sophokles' *Trachiniai* 268-9, where Eurytos is said to have ejected the drunken Herakles from a banquet at his house (see Stoessl, 884 and Huxley, 178). Sophokles makes Eurytos speak disparagingly of Herakles, saying that he had failed to beat his sons and was a mere slave (265-8). This is not likely to have come from Panyassis since it would hardly be in keeping with Herakles' heroic status if he were defeated by the sons of Eurytos. According to Hesiod (F 26. 29-30, M-W), there were four sons, but Kreophylos said that there were two (Schol. Soph. *Trach.* 266 = *Oech. Exc.* F 3 K = F 3 Allen). Panyassis may well have followed the Samian in this point.

FRAGMENT 28

TEXT

P. Oxy. 2. 221 (ed. B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt [London 1899], 64. 8-11).

[Σέλ]ευκος δ' ἐν ε' [Ἡρ]ακλείας πῶ[ς
δ' ἐπορ[εύθ]ης ῥεῦμα Ἀ[χελω]ίου ἀργυ[ρο]
δίνα Ὠκεανοῦ ποταμο[ῖο δι'] εὐρέος ὑγ[ρ]ὰ
κέλευθα

Powell (248) prints two hexameters as follows:

πῶς δ' ἐπορεύθης ῥεῦμ' Ἀχελωίου ἀργυροδίνα,
Ὠκεανοῦ ποταμοῖο δι' εὐρέος ὑγρὰ κέλευθα;

The fragment was recognized as belonging to Panyassis by Wilamowitz (*Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* [1900], 42, cited by Powell).

COMMENTARY

This fragment occurs in scholia on *Iliad* 21 by the grammarian Ammonios.[1] Ammonios (or perhaps a later copyist)[2] has confused Seleukos, the grammarian who cited Panyassis,[3] and Panyassis himself, hence he quotes Seleukos as if he were the author of the *Herakleia* (see Powell, 248). Here Ammonios is bringing forward quotations to support the view that Acheloos was used as a general name for water, with reference to the rejection of *Iliad* 21. 195. Cf. Schol. Townl. (6, 347 Maass): ἄλλως . . . · τινὲς δὲ οὐ γράφουσι τὸν στίχον θέλοντες ἐξ Ἀχελῴου ῥεῖν· τὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν Ὠκεανῷ Ἀχελῷόν φασιν.

The name Acheloos, used to mean water, is found elsewhere in the Homeric scholia: Schol. Ven. A 21. 195 (2, 218 Dindorf): γίνεται δὲ ὁ Ἀχελῷος πηγὴ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων; Schol. Townl. 21. 194, (6, 346 Maass): μέγιστος οὖν τῶν ταύτῃ ποταμῶν ὁ Ἀχελῷος. διὸ Ἀχελῷος πᾶν πηγαῖον ὕδωρ. The idea also occurs in Euripides *Bacchae* 519-20: Ἀχελῴου θύγατερ / πότνι' εὐπάρθενε Δίρκα. An even more obvious example of Acheloos meaning simply water is found in *Bacchae* 625:

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1 Probably first century A.D.; see *P. Oxy.* 2. 221, 52 ff.
2 The papyrus is not later than the end of the second century A.D.
3 See 126, note 1 above.

δμωσὶν Ἀχελῷον φέρειν ἐννέπων. Another such periphrasis, Ἀχελῴου ῥοόν, is found in Euripides *Hyps.* F 753 Nauck². Bond [4] cites other examples: Euripides *Andr.* 167 Ἀχελῴου δρόσον; Sophokles F 5 Pearson; Achaios F 9 (748 Nauck²); Aristophanes *Lys.* 381; Aristophanes F 351. A ritualistic origin for these expressions is suggested by Ephoros (70 F 20 = Macrob. 5. 18. 7): τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἀπορήματος οὐδὲν ἔχομεν αἰτιώτατον εἰπεῖν ἢ τοὺς ἐκ Δωδώνης χρησμοὺς· σχεδὸν γὰρ ἐν ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς προστάττειν ὁ θεὸς εἴωθεν Ἀχελῴῳ θύειν, ὥστε πολλοί, νομίζοντες οὐ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν διὰ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας ῥέοντα, ἀλλὰ τὸ σύνολον ὕδωρ Ἀχελῷον ὑπὸ τοῦ χρησμοῦ καλεῖσθαι, μιμοῦνται τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ προσηγορίας. σημεῖον δὲ ὅτι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀναφέροντες οὕτω λέγειν εἰώθαμεν· μάλιστα γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ Ἀχελῷον προσαγορεύομεν ἐν τοῖς ὅρκοις καὶ ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς καὶ ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις, ἅπερ πάντα περὶ τοὺς θεούς. (See also *P. Oxy.* 2. 64. no. 221, col. 9. 21-5). Another explanation which also involves religion is suggested by Dodds in his note to *Bacchae* 519-20,[5] where he says that, according to Wilamowitz,[6] Acheloos is the old water-god of the mainland who was ousted by Okeanos and sank to the status of a river. It is also possible that the concept "Acheloos = water" arose from the fact that the Acheloos is the largest of Greek rivers (cf. Schol. Ven. B *Il.* 21. 194 [4, 262 Dindorf]: τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ποταμῶν μείζονα εἶναι λέγουσιν Ἀχελῷον). and hence could have been regarded as the source for all other waters. Certainly this fact will have been the origin for the story that the Acheloos was the oldest of rivers (Schol. Townl. *Il.* 21. 195 [6, 347 Maass]: πρεσβύτερον τῶν ἄλλων ἥγηνται τὸν Ἀχελῷον). Akousilaos (2 F 1) gives the genealogy: Ὠκεανὸς δὲ γαμεῖ Τηθὺν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφήν· τῶν δὲ γίνονται τρισχίλιοι ποταμοί· Ἀχελῷος δὲ αὐτῶν πρεσβύτατος καὶ τετίμηται μάλιστα.[7]

In this fragment Panyassis uses both names, Acheloos and Okeanos, but he may have used Acheloos as a substitute for Okeanos in F 15 K. 2, where he calls Kastalia a daughter of Acheloos. In F 17 K, νύμφαι Ἀχελήτιδες is a reference not to the Acheloos, but to the Lydian river Achelesios, though clearly the same root Ἀχ- is present in both names (cf. Ἀχέρων, Ἰνάχος).

We are told that the two lines come from the fifth book of the *Herakleia*. Someone is asking Herakles how he crossed the stream of

[4] Euripides *Hypsipyle*, ed. G. W. Bond (Oxford 1963), 86.
[5] Euripides *Bacchae*, ed. E. R. Dodds (Oxford 1960), 142.
[6] Wilamowitz, *Der Glaube der Hellenen* (Berlin 1931), I. 93, 219.
[7] For the birth of Acheloos from Okeanos and Tethys see also Hesiod, *Theog.* 337-40.

Acheloos. The answer probably is "in the cup of the Sun", since we are told in F 7 K that Herakles sailed to Erytheia in the Sun's cup. This means that we can perhaps accept Dübner's emendation τετάρτῳ for πρώτῳ in F 7 K. Herakles' journey across to Erytheia could have been told in book 4, and then book 5 could have begun with a confrontation between Herakles and someone on the island, perhaps Geryon himself. Robert's emendation, πέμπτῳ, is also possible.

As for the text itself, ἐπορεύθης is not very satisfactory, as is indicated by Grenfell and Hunt (*P. Oxy.* 2. 79). It is not found in Homer. ἐπέρησας would be better (cf. F 15 K. 1; *Od.* 5. 174; 6. 272; 10. 508; etc.), but, according to Grenfell and Hunt, the third letter can be ε, but the one before ς cannot be α or ε, nor indeed anything but η. Hence, they say, an aorist passive seems inevitable. For ἐπορεύθης in the sense of crossing by sea, we can compare Thukydides 7. 29 and Herodotos 8. 107. However it is also possible that the ending -ης denotes not an aorist passive, but a subjunctive, and that the question refers to the future: "How are you to cross the stream of Acheloos?" Someone could have said this to Herakles before he set out to fetch the cattle of Geryon. In this case we might read in F 28 πῶς δὲ περήσῃς, with which we can compare *Iliad* 1. 150, πῶς τίς τοι πρόφρων ἔπεσιν πείθηται Ἀχαιῶν; and 18. 188, πῶς τ' ἄρ' ἴω μετὰ μῶλον;

[This reading would mean that F 7 K must belong either to the fifth or a later book of the *Herakleia*, since it would have to come after F 28.

The phrase ῥεῦμ' Ἀχελωίου ἀργυροδίνα is similar to another passage from the same papyrus (2. 63, no. 211, col. 9. 1-3 = *Epic. Adesp.* F 5 Powell), Ἀχελω[ίου] ἀργυροδ[ί]νεω, and we can also compare Kallimachos *Hymn Dem.* 13, Ἀχελώιον ἀργυροδίναν, and Hesiod *Theog.* 340, Ἀχελώιόν τ' ἀργυροδίνην. Wackernagel tries to explain the form ἀργυροδίνα as equal to ἀργυροδίναο,[8] but, according to West, -αο and -οιο are never elided in epic. He suggests that -δίνα can be explained as a Dorism, though a unique one in epic.[9] If it is a Dorism, it makes it more likely that it is correct to attribute the lines to the Halikarnassian Panyassis. The word ἀργυροδίνης is also

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[8] J. Wackernagel, *Sprachliche Untersuchungen zu Homer* (Göttingen 1916), 162.

[9] West, *Hesiod: "Theogony"*, 400.

found in *Iliad* 2. 753 (of the Peneus); 21. 8; 130 (of the Skamandros). In the second line, the preposition δι(ά) must be taken with the accusative κέλευθα. This use of διά with the accusative in the sense of "through" or "across" is, of course, quite common, e.g. διὰ κυανέας ἀκτάς Euripides *Andr.* 864; διὰ ῥοάς Euripides *Rhesos* 919; διὰ πόρον (across) Aischylos *Persai* 501 (all with περάω); see also *Il.* 7. 247; 12. 62. For Ὠκεανοῦ ποταμοῖο we can compare Ὠκεανὸν ποταμόν *Od.* 11. 639; *Kypria* F 7. 10 Allen. The adjective εὐρύς is often used of the sea in Homer, but only with the noun πόντος as in *Il.* 6. 291; 9. 72; *Od.* 1. 197; 2. 295; 4. 498, etc., or in the phrases εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης (*Il.* 2. 159; 8. 511; 20. 228; *Od.* 3. 142; 4. 313, etc.); θαλάσσης εὐρέα κόλπον (*Il.* 18. 140; *Od.* 4. 435) and ἁλὸς εὐρέα κόλπον (*Il.* 21. 125). The phrase ὑγρὰ κέλευθα is common in Homer (*Il.* 1. 312; *Od.* 3. 71; 4. 842; 9. 252; 15. 474; *Hom. Hymn* 3. 452; cf. McLeod, 104, who, omitting the reference to the capture of Oichalia (F 27), assigns the number 27 to this fragment).

The structure of the lines is irregular and Panyassis seems guilty of tautology. The accumulation of four accusatives and four genitives is awkward and Stoessl (877) compares the lines to F 18 K. 3 where there are four datives, Σίβρῳ ἐπ' ἀργυρέῳ ποταμῷ παρὰ δινήεντι.[10] However, in spite of the unevenness, there is little reason to assume, as Stoessl suggests, that Panyassis, with his Karian name, was not at home in the Greek language (cf. Huxley, 182).

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[10] Cf. F 18. 1-2, θύγατρα / νύμφην Ὠγυγίην, ἣν Πραξιδίκην καλέουσιν.

FRAGMENT 29

Text

Etymologicum Genuinum A s.v. Μῦθος (Reitzenstein, *Index Lectionum in Acad. Rostochiensi* [1891/2], 15)· ἡ στάσις· παρ' Ὁμήρῳ ἅπαξ εἴρηται ἐν φ Ὀδυσσείας, οἷον "μύθου ποιήσασθαι ἐπισχεσίην" (21. 71), καὶ Ἀνακρέων ἐν τῷ β' τῶν μελῶν (F 353 Page) μυθιήτας τοὺς στασιαστὰς ἐπὶ τῶν ἁλιέων λέγει, καὶ Πανύασσις "διχθάδιος πὸ μῦθος· † ἄλλα δὲ † μετεμέμβετο λαῶν" ἀντὶ τοῦ στάσις.

The hexameter was restored by Reitzenstein as follows (see Powell, 248-9):

διχθάδιός ποτε μῦθος· ἄναξ μετεμέμβλετο λαῶν.

Commentary

Panyassis is clearly using the word μῦθος in the same sense as Anakreon used μυθιήτης, but it cannot be regarded as certain that Homer in *Od.* 21. 71 also used the word in that way. For μύθου ἐπισχεσίην (*Od.* 21. 71) a meaning like "the putting forward of a *plea*" (Monro), a "a pretext for your *design*" (Merry), or "putting forward a *story, pretext*" (Stanford) seems preferable.[1] The suggestion that μῦθος is Aiolic for μόθος (Eust. *Odyssey* 21. 71, 1901) does not seem likely in view of the word μυθιήτης, since there is no evidence for an Aiolic form μοθιήτης.

The use of the word μυθιήτης (this spelling is guaranteed by the metre) by Anakreon is also mentioned by other sources,[2] several of which explain the word as meaning στασιῶται or στασιασταί, but a comparison of those authorities which cite Anakreon shows that the meaning was really much narrower, that μυθιῆται was in fact the name given by Anakreon to a political party in Samos, οἱ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ ἁλιεῖς ὄντες.[3] In that case, it is perhaps unlikely that the word was in

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[1] *Homer's Odyssey, Books XIII-XXIV* ed. D. B. Monro (Oxford 1901), 202; *Homer: Odyssey, Books XIII-XXIV* ed. W. W. Merry (Oxford 1878, repr. 1955), Part II, 138; *The Odyssey of Homer*[2] ed. W. B. Stanford 2 (Books 13-24), (London 1958, repr. 1965), 359.

[2] For these see Page, 180.

[3] See E. Lobel, "Trivialities of Greek History", *CQ* 21 (1927), 50. For political opponents of Polykrates in Samos see Hdt. 3. 44-5; cf. also M. E. White, "The Duration of the Samian Tyranny", *JHS* 74 (1954), 36-43,

general use in Ionic as an equivalent for στασιῶται. It apparently became well-known in Samos, as is seen from Antigonos of Karystos *Mir.* 120: ὁ δὲ τοὺς Σαμιακοὺς ὥρους συγγεγραφὼς (*FGrHist* 544 F 1) ἐπὶ τῶν πρώτων κληθέντων μυθητῶν (μαθητῶν MSS, corr. Schneidewin) τῶν περὶ Ἡρόστρατόν φησιν χελιδόνα λευκὴν φανῆναι.[4] From this the word may have passed into more general use after the time of Anakreon. It is possible that the word μῦθος = στάσις became known to Panyassis during his stay on Samos.

The word διχθάδιος, "two-fold", "double", "divided", is found in *Il.* 9. 411 and 14. 21, in both instances at the beginning of the line, as in Panyassis. Words in -αδιος or -ιδιος are quite common in Homer and elsewhere.[5] For ἄναξ λαῶν we can compare πολλῶν / λαῶν ἄναξ (*Il.* 9. 97-8). In Homer, however, the phrase ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν is more common, as in *Il.* 1. 7; 172; 442; 506, etc. The form μετεμέμβλετο from μεταμέλομαι is found only here, though μέμβλετο (with intrusive β) from μέλομαι is found in Homer (*Il.* 21. 516; *Od.* 22. 12). For μεταμέλομαι, LSJ suggest "feel repentance", "regret", or, in an absolute sense, "change one's purpose". The line seems to mean: "Once upon a time, there was a divisive strife. The leader of the people (or, perhaps, army) regretted it (or changed his plans)".

It is difficult, if not impossible, to know in what context Panyassis wrote this line. It evidently concerns a dispute involving the leader of a people or host. One such dispute, which may have been known to Panyassis, was that which brought Sarpedon and the Termilai to Lykia (cf. F 18 K). The story is given in Herodotos 1. 173: διενειχθέντων δὲ ἐν Κρήτῃ περὶ τῆς βασιληίης τῶν Εὐρώπης παίδων Σαρπηδόνος τε καὶ Μίνω, ὡς ἐπεκράτησε τῇ στάσι Μίνως, ἐξήλασε αὐτόν τε Σαρπηδόνα καὶ τοὺς στασιώτας αὐτοῦ, οἱ δὲ ἀπωσθέντες ἀπίκοντο τῆς Ἀσίης ἐς γῆν τὴν Μιλύαδα. If this is the story to which Panyassis is referring, the ἄναξ could be either Sarpedon or Minos, depending on the context. Thus there may be a case for ascribing the fragment to the *Herakleia*. However, there could also have been στάσεις in connection to the Ionian migrations, and the title ἄναξ λαῶν seems quite appropriate for a leader of an Ionian colony or party of migrants. A possible

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especially 37; Bowra *Greek Lyric Poetry*² 274-5; J. P. Barron, "The Sixth-Century Tyranny at Samos", *CQ* 14 (1964), 210-24, especially 216-17.

[4] *Rerum Naturalium Scriptores Graeci Minores*, ed. O. Keller (Leipzig 1877), 30. See also *Paradoxographi Graeci*, ed. A. Westermann (1839, repr. Amsterdam 1963), 90.

[5] See C. D. Buck and W. Petersen, *A Reverse Index of Greek Nouns and Adjectives* (Chicago 1944), 57-62.

occasion is the dispute between Medon and Neleus, the eldest of Kodros' sons, which is recorded by Pausanias 7. 2. 1: ἔτεσι δὲ οὐ πολλοῖς ὕστερον Μέδων καὶ Νειλεὺς πρεσβύτατοι τῶν Κόδρου παίδων ἐστασίασαν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ οὐκ ἔφασκεν ὁ Νειλεὺς ἀνέξεσθαι βασιλευόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Μέδοντος, ὅτι ὁ Μέδων τὸν ἕτερον ἦν τῶν ποδῶν χωλός· δόξαν δέ σφισιν ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐς τὸ χρηστήριον τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, δίδωσι Μέδοντι ἡ Πυθία βασιλείαν τὴν Ἀθηναίων. οὕτω δὴ ὁ Νειλεὺς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τῶν Κόδρου παίδων ἐς ἀποικίαν ἀπεστάλησαν, ἀγαγόντες μὲν καὶ αὐτῶν Ἀθηναίων τὸν βουλόμενον, τὸ δὲ πλεῖστόν σφισιν ἦσαν τοῦ στρατεύματος οἱ Ἴωνες.[6] Whether or not the fragment refers to this dispute, there would seem to be more opportunities for accounts of στάσεις in the *Ionika* than in the *Herakleia*, and it may be safe to conclude that the fragment is more likely to belong to the *Ionika*.

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[6] Cf. Aelian, *VH* 8. 5; Schol. Lyk. 1378; and Schmid, 37.

FRAGMENT 30

Text

P. Cair. 65741 (*Antimachi Colophonii Reliquiae* ed. B. Wyss [Berlin 1936], 76 ff.), 2. 50 ff. (85 Wyss) . . . .] ης Στυγὸς ὕδωρ· ὑπο τίθεται ἐν Ἅιδου, καθάπερ καὶ Πανύασσ[ις λέγων περὶ τ]οῦ Σισ[ύ]φου ἐν Ἅιδου [ὄ]ντος φησίν·

ὣς ἄρα μιν εἰπόντα κατασ[τέγασε Στυγὸς] ὕδωρ.

In the gap after Πανύασσ[ις, Stoessl (*RE* 18. 3 [1949], 1279) supplies λέγων.

Commentary

This single hexameter recovered from a papyrus of the second century A.D. is likely to come from the account of Herakles' visit to Hades to fetch the hound Kerberos. Another reference to this visit is found in F 9 K. In this new fragment Panyassis is speaking about Sisyphos, and the line "as he spoke, the water of Styx did cover him" may well indicate the punishment which Sisyphos was enduring. He appears to have been placed in such a way that periodically the water of Styx rose and covered him, sufficient to cause him extreme discomfort, but not sufficient to drown him. This form of water-torture may be compared with that given in the *Odyssey* (11. 582 ff.) to another sinner, Tantalos. Since this is how Panyassis described the punishment of Sisyphos, it is hardly likely that he mentioned the traditional punishment involving pushing the stone, as given in the *Odyssey* 11. 593 ff., and Apollodoros *Bibl.* 1. 9. 3 (cf. Huxley, 185).

The line contains what seems to be the earliest occurrence of the verb καταστεγάζω, which is not a common word. It is interesting that it appears also in Herodotos 4. 71. (He also has the noun καταστέγασμα in 2. 155.) ὣς ἄρα μιν εἰπόντα is an expression which may have been introduced to the epic repertoire before loss of Ϝ from *Ϝέπω. It also occurs in a hexameter found three times in the *Iliad* (16. 502; 855; 22. 361): ὣς ἄρα μιν εἰπόντα τέλος θανάτοιο κάλυψε. Another obviously formulaic phrase is Στυγὸς ὕδωρ, also found at the end of the hexameter in *Il.* 14. 271 and *Hom. Hymn* 2. 259 (cf. McLeod, 104, who numbers this fragment 29).

FRAGMENT 31 (DOUBTFUL)

Text

Probus ad Vergilii *Eclogas* 2. 23 (ed. G. Thilo and H. Hagen [Leipzig 1902], 3. 2. 329). Amphionem et Zethum Euripides et apud nos Pacuvius Iovis ex Antiopa Nyctei ait natos * * * cantando potuisse armenta vocare testantur Thebae, quas Apollonius in Argonautis a fratribus ante dictis muro esse clausas ait, sed Zethus humeris saxa contulit operi, Amphion cantu evocavit, si quidem sensus animalium facilius, quam saxa vincuntur. † Panocus et Alexander lyram a Mercurio muneri datam dicunt, quod primus † Euianaram liberavit.

Panocus MSS Phanocles Schneidewin (accepted by Thilo and Hagen) Phanodicus Dübner Pannyassis [*sic*] Egnatii ed. princ. Prob. [Venice 1507] Pacuvius Wernicke (*RE* 1. 2 [1945], s.v. Amphion)

Euianaram Cod. Vat. Eianara Cod. Monac. Eyianaram Cod. Paris. Cynaram Egnatii ei aram consecravit Keil ei aram dedicaverit or ei in ara libaverit Meineke exta ei in ara libaverit Schneidewin (litaverit Powell, 129) ei cyneam liberaverit Funcke (*Neue Jahrb. f. Phil. u. Paed.*, 39. 2 [1843], 142-3)

Commentary

This fragment appears as F 25 in Dübner's collection (18), and as F 24 in Tzschirner's, but is not included by Kinkel. Presumably he rejected the early emendation of the corrupt † *Panocus* to *Pannyassis* [*sic*] on the grounds that Panyassis could not have mentioned Amphion. Of the later emendations, *Phanodicus* is hardly likely since he is known only as a writer of *Deliaka*[1]. Since Alexander is generally taken to be the Aitolian,[2] Jacoby suggests that *Phanocles* is a more likely emendation, both poets being Hellenistic writers of elegiacs. However, Powell (109) rejects the view that the fragment is the work of Phanokles, asserting that Phanokles is not said to have treated such subjects. He prefers Wernicke's emendation to *Pacuvius* (109, 128). Certainly Pacuvius told about Amphion and Zethus in his *Antiopa*.[3] But Pacuvius is already named in this

[1] See *FGrHist* 397 F 7 and Jacoby's commentary.

[2] See *FGrHist* 397 F 7 commentary; Meineke, 251; but Wilamowitz (*Hom. Unters.*, 343), refers the fragment to Alexander Polyhistor.

[3] For the fragments of the *Antiopa* see E. H. Warmington, *Remains of Old Latin* (Loeb 1936), 2. 158-71.

passage of Probus, and it is unlikely that a copyist made a mistake in his name (surely well-known to a Latin scribe) only a few lines further on. A name that was unfamiliar to the copyist seems more likely. Such a name is *Panyas(s)is*, the suggestion of the *editio princeps*. The confusion between "c" and "s" is very easy in manuscripts, so that *Panyasis* is perhaps closer to *Panocus* than any other of the suggested emendations. Moreover, as Tzschirner (7) points out, there are few, if any, names which are more often corrupted than that of Panyassis. In some instances the corruptions are so bad that it is only an obviously Panyassian context that enables the true reading to be found.[4] The difficulty here is that we do not have an obviously Panyassian context, but on the other hand it is not true that Panyassis cannot have told about Amphion. The reference could belong to an account of the founding of Thebes, where Herakles is said to have been born (*Iliad* 19. 99). Some of his adventures are clearly Theban—for example, the conquest of Orchomenos (Apollod. *Bibl.* 2. 4. 11), the lion of Kithairon (2. 4. 9), the daughters of Thespios (2. 4. 10). Panyassis could have told the history of the city in which his hero was born. Another possible context is Herakles' visit to the underworld (F 9 K and F 30), for according to the poem *Minyas* F 3 K (= Paus. 9. 5. 8), Amphion was punished there for mocking Leto and her children.

As for the corrupt † *Euianaram liberavit*, Meineke (251) may be correct to compare the passage to Pausanias 9. 5. 4: Μυρὼ δὲ Βυζαντία ποιήσασα ἔπη καὶ ἐλεγεῖα Ἑρμῇ βωμόν φησιν ἱδρύσασθαι πρῶτον Ἀμφίονα καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ λύραν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν. It may be that the reference is to Amphion receiving a lyre from Hermes in return for setting up an altar to him. Of the suggested emendations of the verb, either *libaverit* or *litaverit* seems preferable, as they are closest to the corrupt form. With *libaverit*, we could perhaps read *ei in aram* rather than Meineke's *in ara*, (cf. Verg. *Aen.* 1. 740: in mensam laticum libavit honorem), otherwise, in the sense of "dedicate", the simple accusative (i.e., *ei aram lib.*) seems best (cf. Cic. *Leg.* 2. 8. 19: Certasque fruges certasque bacas sacerdotes publice libanto certis sacrificiis ac diebus; Tib. *Eleg.* 1. 10. 21: hic placatus erat seu quis libaverat uvam). If we accept *litaverit*, again the simple accusative is best (cf. Sen. *Medea* 1019: plura non habui, dolor / quae tibi litarem; and Prudent. *Cath.* 7. 5: dum litamus victimam).

[4] See note 9 to Chapter I.

Another possible solution is that suggested by Funcke, who wishes to read "quod primus ei cyneam liberaverit (= κυνέαν ἐλύσατο)". That κυνέα was sometimes used for the πέτασος of Hermes is shown by Schol. Ar. *Birds* 1203 (ed. J. W. White [Boston 1914], 218): πλοῖον ἢ κυνῆ: πλοῖον μὲν . . ., κυνῆ δὲ ὅτι ἔχει περικεφαλαίαν τὸν πέτασον, ὡς ὁ Ἕρμης ἄγγελος ὤν . . . . . φασὶ δὲ καὶ κυνέαν τὸν πέτασον λέγεσθαι ἐν Πελοποννήσῳ.

ἄλλως: πέτασον γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς φορεῖ ὡς ὁ Ἕρμης, πρὸς ὃν τὴν κυνῆν εἶπε. καὶ Πελοποννήσιοι δὲ τὸν πέτασον κυνῆν καλοῦσι.

In the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 4. 475 ff., Hermes presents Apollo with a lyre while he himself becomes a herdsman, receiving the whip from Apollo (497-9) who later hands over to Hermes the staff, or *caduceus* (529-30). Earlier in the hymn (79 ff.), the poet tells how Hermes made his own sandals, so that after obtaining the *caduceus* from Apollo in return for a lyre Hermes has his complete "uniform", except for the πέτασος (cf. the description in Ath. 12. 537 f). It is possible that he received this last item in return for another lyre, perhaps the one he gave to Amphion. Certainly the emendation *ei cyneam liberaverit* is closer to the corruptions in the MSS than any other. If the emendation is correct, this version of Amphion receiving the lyre must have been quite different from the one given by Moiro of Byzantion (Paus. 9. 5. 4). However, it is not at all certain whether *liberaverit* can be retained.

FRAGMENT 32 (DOUBTFUL)

Text

Schol. Nikandros *Theriaka* 256 (quoted by Meineke, 369). γράφεται δὲ καὶ ἄνθεσι χάλκης. οὕτως καὶ παρὰ Νουμηνίῳ

"Ἀνθεσσίν γε μὲν εἴδετ' ἐπ' ἰχὼρ
ἠερόεις, τότε δ' αὖ μολίβῳ ἐναλίγκιον εἶδος
ἀμφί ἑ κυδαίνει χάλκῃ ἴσον.

ἔστι δὲ χάλκη ἄνθος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ τὴν πορφύραν ὠνόμασαν. τὸ δὲ ἐμφερὲς ὅμοιον τῷ ἐν τῇ Ἡρακλείᾳ

φολὶς δ' ἀπέλαμπε φαεινή,
ἄλλοτε μὲν κυανοῦ, τοτὲ δ' ἄνθεσιν εἴσατο χαλκοῦ.

See Kinkel (215) who lists this fragment as "incerti poetae fragmentum".

Commentary

As Meineke suggests (369), the fact that the scholiast does not name the author of the *Herakleia* suggests that he was a famous poet, not a minor one. Hence, it is fair assumption that the *Herakleia* quoted is either that of Peisandros or of Panyassis, though the poem by Rhianos should be borne in mind.

Meineke is perhaps correct in thinking that the lines come from a description of the serpent which guarded the golden apples of the Hesperides. This episode was narrated by Panyassis (F 10 K), and Peisandros too almost certainly described it, although there is no reference to it in his fragments. Another possible context, in either poet, is the description of the Lernaian hydra (Panyassis F 3 K; Peisandros F 2 K).

An examination of the text is of little help in determining the authorship of the lines, since actual quotations from Peisandros are almost negligible (F 7, two hexameters; F 8, one hexameter; F 9, part of a hexameter; F 10, end of a hexameter; F 11, one word). However, there are certain features in the lines which are quite suitable for the work of Panyassis. Some of the language is traditionally Homeric: for example, ἀπέλαμπε is found in *Il.* 6. 295; 19. 381; 22. 319; and *Od.* 15. 108. φαεινός too is common in Homer, the following examples being, as here, in the last foot, *Il.* 3. 419; 6. 219; 11. 645; *Od.* 6. 19; 10. 23; 14. 482. ἄλλοτε μέν is a common Homeric phrase, often in the first foot, as in *Il.* 18. 472; 24. 530; *Od.* 4. 102;

5. 331; 11. 303. κυανός too is found in Homer (*Il.* 11. 24; 35; *Od.* 7. 87), as is (ἐ)είσατο, e.g., *Il.* 13. 191; *Od.* 5. 442; 7. 281, and even as here in the sense of "to be like", "resemble", in *Il.* 2. 791, though in this sense it is more common in participial forms εἰδομένη (*Il.* 2. 280) or εἰσαμένη (*Il.* 2. 795; 5. 785; *Od.* 1. 105; 2. 268, etc.). Such Homeric language, no doubt, was also common in the work of Peisandros, as can be seen from F 7 K, but certain other features in these lines are perhaps more characteristic of Panyassis. φολίς is found in the Hippokratic writings (περὶ ὄψιος 6) and is explained by Aristotle *Hist. An.* 490B 22: ὅσα μὲν οὖν ζῳοτόκα, πάντα τρίχας ἔχει, ὅσα δ' ᾠοτόκα, φολίδας· ἔστι δ' ἡ φολὶς ὅμοιον χώρᾳ λεπίδος. The word later occurs in an epic context in Apollonios Rhodios 1. 221, in a description of the wings of Zetes and Kalais. The meaning of the phrase ἄνθεσιν χαλκοῦ is not quite clear. It also occurs in Nikandros *Theriaka* 256, which is discussed by Gow.[1] He cites the meanings given by LSJ: (a) ἄνθη χαλκοῦ = χάλκανθον, a solution of blue vitriol (copper sulphate), used for ink and shoemaker's blacking (Dioskorides 3. 80; *Orphic Arg.* 960; Pliny *HN* 34. 123); (b) ἄνθος χαλκοῦ, particles thrown off by copper when cooling (Hippokrates *Gynaikeia* 1. 104; Philo *Belopoeica* 102. 34; Dsk. 5. 77). But Gow sees no reason to distinguish singular and plural; he says that nothing cited s.v. χάλκανθον necessarily implies a liquid, and Schol. Nikandros *Theriaka* 257 describes a solid. He also says that in Nikandros the phrase means either "blue", like crystals of copper sulphate, or "green", like verdigris (which is probably the meaning in *Alexipharm.* 529 χαλκοῖο πάλαι μεμογηότας ἄνθην). κυανοῦ clearly means "very dark blue, cobalt", to which the medium blue of copper sulphate would be a very subtle contrast. If we desire a stronger contrast between the two colours perhaps we should take ἄνθεσιν χαλκοῦ to mean "green". Another possibility is that ἄνθος here may mean simply "brightness" or "brilliancy" of colour, as in Theognis 452 (of gold). A phrase with this meaning similar to ἄνθεσιν χαλκοῦ is χαλκήιον ἄνθος (Orphic F 174). The word is also used of bright colours by Dionysios of Halikarnassos *Ant. Rom.* 7. 72. 10. Thus the lines could mean "the gleaming scale now shone of dark-blue enamel, now it resembled the brilliance of copper". This meaning provides a good contrast between the two colours. We cannot confidently ascribe these lines to Panyassis but he uses the adjective φαεινός in F 4 K, and the alliteration φολὶς . . . φαεινή is reminiscent of his style.

[1] A. S. F. Gow, "Nicandrea: with reference to Liddell and Scott", *CQ* 45 (1951), 98.

FRAGMENT 33 (DOUBTFUL)

TEXT

Hyginus *Poetica Astronomica* 2. 14 (ed. Bunte [Leipzig 1875], 50): Ophiuchus ... Alii autem Herculem esse demonstrant, in Lydia apud flumen Sagarim anguem interficientem, qui et homines conplures interficiebat et ripam frugibus orbabat. pro quo facto ab Omphala, quae ibi regnabat, multis ornatum muneribus Argos remissum, ab Iove autem propter fortitudinem inter sidera collocatum.

Wilamowitz (*Herakles*² 1. 75, note 137) attributes this story to Panyassis.

COMMENTARY

This story of Herakles slaying a man-killing serpent at the river Sagaris during his service in Lydia could have come from Panyassis (see F 17 K), but we cannot be sure that this is so. There is nothing in the story except the reference to Omphale and Lydia which might suggest the authorship of Panyassis.

Hyginus has apparently been misled by the mention of Omphale into putting the river Sagaris in Lydia, when in fact it is in Phrygia (Plut. *De Fluv.* 12). Plutarch is the only Greek author to give the name Σάγαρις, the usual form being Σαγγάριος.[1] Either form could appear in a hexameter.

Hanfmann suggests that this story of Herakles battling against a serpent may be connected with the story of Tylon who fought a serpent in Lydia (Nonnos *Dionys.* 25. 451 ff.).[2] He finds a link between Herakles and Tylon in the Lydian dynasty, which the Greeks called Herakleidai (Hdt. 1. 7), but which Xanthos said was sprung from Tylon (Nikolaos of Damaskos 90 F 45). Hanfmann says that Herodotos must have found the identification of Tylon and Herakles so well established that he gives no hint of a local name.[3] But, though it does seem from coins of the Roman Empire

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[1] As in *Il.* 3. 187; 16. 719; Strabo 12. 3. 7, C 543; 12. 4. 1, C 563; 12. 5. 3, C 567; 14. 5. 29, C 681 (quoting *Il.* 3. 187); Paus. 1. 4. 5; 7. 17. 11; 8. 9. 7; Ptolemy 5. 1. 6.

[2] See Hanfmann, *HSCP* 63 (1958), 71-2 with notes. A version in which Tylon was the victor would be required.

[3] Hanfmann, *Ibid.*

that Tylon was identified with Herakles in the third century A.D.,[4] it is perhaps hazardous to infer that this identification was an early development.[5] In the account given by Nikolaos of Damaskos (following Xanthos), no such equation is suggested. There the Tylonidai appear as a family powerful in Lydia, but quite distinct from the Herakleidai (cf. Nik. Dam. 90 F 47. 5). It is hard to see how Xanthos could have failed to mention the identification of Herakles with Tylon had it been known to him.[6] That such an identification was in fact made in later times is easily understood, since, as has been noticed above on F 10 K of Panyassis, Herakles was often linked to stories of serpents. This fragment (F 33) may or may not come from Panyassis but, at any rate, it is probable that the story has no connection with Tylon.

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[4] See B. V. Head, *Catalogue of Greek Coins in the British Museum*: *Lydia* (London 1901), cxi.

[5] See *RE* (zw. reihe) 18. 1362, s.v. Xanthos no. 25. For the view I express in the text I am indebted to James Grainger, "Xanthos of Lydia" (diss., University of Belfast 1968), 74-6.

[6] A more likely Lydian counterpart of Herakles could be Sandon, also known as Sandes or Santas (see *RE* [zw. reihe] l. 2264. s.v. Sandon). Cf. commentary on F 17 K and see also Grainger, "Xanthos of Lydia", 75-6.

APPENDIX TO F 29

Several versions of the story of the strife between Medon and Neleus, and of the latter's subsequent emigration to Ionia, assign an important part to Elegeis, a daughter of Neleus.

Concerning this lady, there is a reference in *Etym. Magn.* (327. 11 Gaisford) as follows: 'ΕΛΕΓΗΐΣ. Ἡ θυγάτηρ Νηλέως τοῦ ἡγησαμένου εἰς Καρίαν τῆς Ἰώνων ἀποικίας· ἧς τὸ κύριον ὄνομα Πειρὼ φασὶν εἶναι. Εἴρηται δὲ παρὰ το ἐλεγαίνειν, τὸ ἀκολασταίνειν· διὸ οὐδεὶς αὐτὴν Ἀθηναίων ἠβουλήθη γῆμαι.

This attempt to derive the nickname of this licentious woman from the verb ἐλεγαίνειν is in evident disagreement with a similar attempt in *Etym. Magn.* 152. 47 to derive the verb ἀσελγαίνειν from the name Ἐλεγηΐς: κυρίως τὸ παρὰ φύσιν ταῖς γυναιξὶ μίγνυσθαι· καταχρηστικῶς* δὲ τὸ ὁπωσδήποτε ἀκολασταίνειν. Εἴρηται δὲ ἀπό τινος Ἐλεγηΐδος γυναικὸς Ἀττικῆς, πρώτης τὴν τοιαύτην ἀσωτίαν εὑρούσης (51). *καταχρηστικῶς "by a misuse of language". Because of these conflicting opinions, it is perhaps safest to say that the name and the verbs are related, without specifying which came first, but since Ἐλεγηΐς is clearly a nickname, we might suppose that it was derived from the verb ἐλεγαίνειν. One thing is certain: the lady's reputation was notorious.

An example of her behaviour is given a little later (*Etym. Magn.* 152. 58): καὶ ἡ Νηλέως θυγάτηρ Ἐλεγηΐς, ἄσωτος οὖσα ἦν. Ἧς καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἤκουσεν ἐπικροτούσης τὸ αἰδοῖον καὶ βοώσης,

> † δίζεο, δίζεο δὴ μέγαν ἄνδρα ἀ · · ·
> ὅς σ' ἐπὶ Μίλητον κατάξει πήματα Καρσί.

Before attending to the corrupt verses, it will be best to examine the context in which Elegeis' extravagant behaviour occurred; it is preserved for us by Schol. Lyk. 1378 (381, Scheer): υἱοὶ δὲ Κόδρου ἦσαν Νηλεὺς καὶ Μέδων. κληρωθεὶς οὖν ὁ Μέδων βασιλεύων, ἐλθὼν ὁ Νηλεὺς εἰς Δελφοὺς ἔλαβε χρησμὸν στέλλεσθαι ἐπὶ χρυσοῦς ἄνδρας, δείξειν δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα. παραγενόμενος δὲ εἰς Ἀθήνας ἤκουσε τῆς θυγατρὸς γυμνῆς τυπτούσης τὸ ἐπείσιον καὶ λεγούσης

> † δίζεο σεῦ μάλα ἐς θαλερὸν πόσιν ἢ ἐς Ἀθήνας
> ἢ εἰς Μίλητον κατάξω πήματα Καρσίν.

From this, it can be seen that Elegeis uttered these lines at Athens when her father returned there from consulting the oracle at Delphi, and it is clear that her words indicated to him his destination. The text is corrupt, but the lines seem to present the choice of seeking a husband at Athens or of going to Miletos. Since we are told by *Etym. Magn.* 327 that none of the Athenians wished to marry Elegeis, Neleus has no choice but to go to Miletos.

Two stories are told of how Neleus knew where to found his settlement. According to one of them (Lyk. 1378-83 with scholia), Neleus was told by an oracle to settle wherever a maiden gave him earth and water. On his arrival in Karia he asked a potter's daughter for some earth to make a seal and she gave him some moist potter's clay. Neleus, seeing the fulfilment of the oracle, occupied Miletos. The second story again involves Elegeis, once more as the instrument of an oracle; Schol. Lyk. 1385: τῷ δὲ Νηλεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ εἰπόντος τὴν θυγατέρα δείξειν, ὅπου δεῖ κτίζειν, ἀποβάντων αὐτῶν εἰς ἀνασυραμένην τοὺς μηροὺς εἰπεῖν· τίς θέλει μοι συνουσιάσαι; συνεὶς δὲ ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῆς τὸ λόγιον ἐκεῖ κατῴκησε. This story appears to follow naturally after Elegeis' previous utterance: not being able to find a husband at Athens, she has now arrived in Karia and at once, with alarming but characteristic directness, makes her appeal for a man. Her subsequent behaviour in Karia is described by Lykophron 1385-7 (with scholia), though he does not make her instrumental in the founding of the city:

> ὅταν κόρη κασωρίς, εἰς ἐπείσιον
> χλεύην ὑλακτήσασα, κηκάσῃ γάμους
> νυμφεῖα πρὸς κηλωστὰ καρβάνων τελεῖν.

I do not find the suggestions that Elegeis was inspired by a patriotic madness connected with the cult of Demeter very convincing (see Crusius, *RE* 5. 2, 2258 ff.). Clearly she was a notorious wanton from whom such behaviour was to be expected. Had any μανία been involved, the sources would surely have mentioned it.

It is unfortunate that the two lines spoken by Elegeis are corrupt in both sources. There have been various modern attempts at emendation, of which the following may be noted:

(1) δίζεο δίζεο δὴ <μοι> Ἀθηναῖον μέγαν ἄνδρα
ὅστ' ἐπὶ Μίλητον κατάξει πήματα Καρσί

(Crusius, *RE* 5. 2, 2258: note that the second line does not scan).

(2) δίζεο, δίζεο σοι μάλα δὴ μέγαν ἄνδρ' ἀπ' Ἀθήνων·
ἢ ἐς Μίλητόν σε κατάξω πήματα Καρσίν

(Wilamowitz, *Herakles* I[1]. 58, note).

(3) δίζεο δίζεο μοι θαλερὸν πόσθων' ἀπ' Ἀθήνης
ὅς ῥ' ἐπὶ Μίλητόν σε κατάξει πήματα Καρσίν

(Meineke, *Herm.* 3 [1869], 166).

(4) δίζεο μ' ὦ βασιλεῦ θαλερὸν πόσιν ἔκτοθ' Ἀθήνης
ὅς ῥ' ἐς Μιλήτου με κατάξει παίγματα Καρῶν

(Scheer, 382).

(5) δίζεο δίζεο δὴ μέγαν ἄνδρα ἀπόπροθι πάτρης,
ὅστ' ἐπὶ Μίλητόν σε κατάξει πήματα Καρσί

(Gaisford, *Etym. Magn.* 152. 58).

(6) δίζεο σεῦ μάλα εὖ θαλερὸν πόσιν ἢ ἐς Ἀθήνας
ἢ ἐς Μίλητον καὶ τάξον πήματα Καρσί

(Mooney, *The Alexandra of Lycophron* [London 1921], 149-50).

As was noted above, I feel that the lines state a choice, either finding a husband at Athens *or* going to Miletos (for, as we know from *Etym. Magn.* 327. 11, no Athenian was willing to marry Elegeis). So we must retain the ἢ of Schol. Lykophron in the second line, and since all the manuscripts of the Scholia have a first person singular form (see Scheer, *app. crit.*, 382), I think that Wilamowitz's version of the second line can perhaps be accepted, the σε being taken as a reference to Neleus, in fulfilment of the oracle, as well as to τὸ αἰδοῖον which seems to be the direct object of Elegeis' address.

In the first line, I fear that the difficulties are much greater. I am sure that Scheer is right in supposing that μέγαν ἄνδρ' is a gloss for θαλερὸν πόσιν, which suggests that our attention would be best directed to the versions of Scheer, Meineke, and Mooney. Scheer's ὦ βασιλεῦ seems unsuitable, but the coarseness of Meineke's πόσθων' may have much to recommend it; indeed the gloss μέγαν ἄνδρ' might well be more natural as an explanation of the unusual θαλερὸν πόσθων' than of the common θαλερὸν πόσιν. Another possibility is θαλερὴν πόσθην. In Mooney's version, I feel that ἢ ἐς Ἀθήνας is not correct. The following version may be acceptable:

δίζεο δίζεο μοι θαλερὸν πόσθων' ἐν Ἀθήναις·
ἢ ἐς Μίλητόν σε κατάξω πήματα Καρσίν

For δίζεο δίζεο μοι possible variants are: δίζεο δή μοι εὖ or δίζεο δὴ μάλα εὖ or δίζεο μοι μάλα εὐ, with σοι substituting for μοι. For θαλερὸν πόσθων' we might have θαλερὴν πόσθην, and for ἐν 'Αθήναις perhaps ἀπ' 'Αθήνων.

Certainly the two lines are both hexameters and it seems impossible to construct an elegiac couplet from them. Hence it is unlikely that the lines come from Panyassis' *Ionika*, though there is much in the story which might be attractive to the man who told of the incestuous origin of Adonis (F 25 K). Elegeis is a colourful figure who could well have found her way into such a poem; both of her names 'Ελεγηΐς and Πειρώ fit into a hexameter or pentameter line.

INDICES

I. SOURCES FOR THE FRAGMENTS

Apollodoros
Bibl. 1. 5. 1-2: F 24 K
3. 10. 3: F 19 K
3. 14. 4: F 25 K

Arnobius
Adv. Gent. 4. 25: F 21 K

Athenaios
2. 36 d: F 13 K; F 14 K. 6
2. 37 a: F 12 K. 12-19 (not 16)
F 14 K. 1-5
4. 172 d: F 26 K
11. 469 d: F 7 K
11. 498 d: F 4 K

Avienus
Phaenom. 2. 169-93: F 10 K

Clement of Alexandria
Protr. 2. 35. 3: F 16 K
2. 36. 2: F 6 K;
F 20 K
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6. 2. 25: F 27

Eratosthenes
Katast. 4: F 10 K
11: F 3 K

Etymologicum Genuinum
s.v. Μῦθος: F 29

Etymologicum Magnum
196. 34 s.v. βηλός: F 23 K

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s.v. Ἠοίην: F 25 K

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Poet. Astr. 2. 6: F 10 K
2. 14: F 33 (?)
Fab. 147: F 24 K

Interpres Germ. *Arat.*
42: F 10 K

Macrobius
Sat. 5. 21. 19: F 7 K

P. Cair.
65741 (in *Antim. Coloph. Reliq.* ed. Wyss, 76 ff.) 2, 50 ff.: F 30

P. Oxy.
2. 221, 64. 8-11: F 28

Pausanias
9. 11. 2: F 22 K
10. 8. 9: F 15 K
10. 29. 9: F 9 K

Philodemos
περὶ εὐσεβίας 12 Gomperz: F 25 K
17 Gomperz: F 19 K

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4. 1149: F 17 K

Schol. Clem. Alex.
Protr. 2. 36 (1. 425 Dindorf): F 6 K; F 21 K

Schol. Eur.
Alk. 1: F 19 K

Schol. Germ. *Arat.*
BP 61. 2: F 10 K
70. 6: F 3 K
G 128. 23: F 3 K

Schol. Homer
Il. 1. 591: F 23 K
24. 616: F 17 K
Od. 12. 301: F 8 K

Schol. Nik.
Ther. 256: F 32 (?)

Schol. Pindar
Pyth. 3. 177 b: F 5 K

Sextus Empiricus
Adv. Math. 1. 261: F 19 K

Stephanos of Byzantion
Ethnika s.v. Ἀσπίς : F 11 K
s.v. Βέμβινα : F 1 K; F 2 K
s.v. Τρεμίλη : F 18 K

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II. GENERAL INDEX

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